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A  
HISTORY OF THE  
REVENUES  
OF THE  
KINGS OF ENGLAND

1066-1399

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A  
HISTORY OF THE  
R E V E N U E S  
OF THE  
KINGS OF ENGLAND  
1066-1399

BY  
SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY OF BAMFF  
LL.D., LITT.D.

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## EDWARD I, " LONGSHANKS "

*Began to reign 20th November 1272 ; crowned  
19th August 1274 ; died 7th July 1307*

FOR an estimate of the revenues of this reign we have materials considerably fuller than those that we had for earlier reigns. The Pell Rolls are fuller and more instructive, while we have a regular series of Wardrobe Accounts. But neither series is complete ; and, still more provoking, it happens in several years that when the Pells for the year are complete, the Wardrobe Accounts are wanting, and vice versa. Still there are twenty-one years when the accounts are full. Under Henry III we also had a Queen's Wardrobe and the allowance to young Edward to deal with. The Queen's expenditure now figures in the general Wardrobe Accounts ; with respect to these, by deducting the Treasury drawings from the gross totals shown, as already explained, we get the amount of the direct receipts, and these, together with the totals of the Pell Rolls, should give the full revenue of the year. But we have already pointed out the uncertain gaps left by the ' assignments ' or drafts or tallies drawn on receivers of branches of the revenue for payment to creditors, such payments not being passed through either the Pells or the Wardrobe Accounts. For the sums paid by assignments we must turn to the special accounts of the various receivers. The fact is that while the collection of the revenue was strictly looked after, and the accounts of the various receivers carefully audited, no attempt was ever made to bring the entire revenue within the compass of one all-embracing summary account, so as to give a complete conspectus of the whole. The result is that a full and authentic return of the revenue could only be obtained by putting together the totals of all the " Enrolled ", i. e. audited and passed accounts, of the individual receivers of the different branches of the revenue, a vast task, and one for which the materials in this reign do not exist. But of all the material branches we hope to give a sufficient account.

In the past we have for the most part accepted the yearly revenues as found on the Pells or on the Pipe Rolls, *plus* the Wardrobe. For the future, owing to the expansion of the sources of revenue, further additions will have to be taken into account.

The distinguishing features of the finance of the reign are, first, the grant of the Parliamentary Customs, dating from the year 1275, a landmark in constitutional as well as financial history; and secondly, the great increase in the number of Clerical and Lay Subsidies granted by Parliament, both marking the growth of constitutional action. Details of these, so far as extant, we hope to give.<sup>1</sup>

We parted from Edward on the 20th August 1270 when he set sail at Dover for Holy Land. He reached Tunis in November to find Louis dead and his whole expedition a failure; Edward wintered in Sicily with King Charles II; and in the spring of 1271 sailed from Palermo to Acre, then being closely besieged by Babers Bandolktar, Sultan of Egypt. Edward raised the siege; but remained some eighteen months at Acre hoping for reinforcement from home. In June 1272 he nearly fell a victim to the dagger of an assassin, commissioned by a treacherous Emir of the Sultan. About the middle of August the last English Crusading force left the shores of Palestine. After much tossing on the seas Edward again accepted the hospitality of the Sicilian Court; there he heard of his father's death.

## I EDWARD I

1272-1273. Having wintered at the Court of Sicily, early in 1273 Edward was escorted by the Prince of Salerno, the son of King Charles, to the Roman frontier. On the 5th February he entered the Immortal City. On the 14th of the month he reached the Papal Court at Orvieto, and was received with marked distinction, the Cardinals coming out to receive him. Gregory X,<sup>2</sup> who, as the Archdeacon Tebaldo Visconti, had accompanied Edward to Acre, had promptly written to welcome his fellow pilgrim home. He might have compunction on the score of his

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 81-87.

<sup>2</sup> Crowned 27 February 1272.

neglect of any measures against the perpetrators of the murder of Viterbo, and misgivings as to what Edward might have to say on the subject. To propitiate him, he had already ordered the payment of two years' clerical Tenthhs in England, one year for Edward's benefit, the other for that of his brother Edmund, in both cases on the ground of their expenses on Crusade. But Edward was inflexible in his demands for justice, and Guy de Montfort was promptly brought to book and consigned to prison; Simon had already passed away. In his progress through Upper Italy the Royal pilgrim was everywhere hailed as the Champion of the Cross. Padua and Milan showered honours on his head. On the 7th June he crossed the Mont Cenis. Count Philip, brother of the late Amadeus, was there to receive him, and renewed the homage rendered to Henry III for the Fort de Bard. But the pension had already been cut down from £1,000 a year to 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) a year. A deputation of bishops and magnates had also come to hail their uncrowned King; all was well at home, and there was no occasion to hurry back. On entering Burgundy Edward found himself induced to take part in a grand tournament. As a King and Crusader he might have pleaded a twofold excuse; at home at this very time tournaments were being forbidden by his Ministers. But the King's honour was at stake, to say nothing of personal tastes. He undertook to hold the field against all comers, and came off with flying colours, unhorsing his adversary the Count, who surrendered himself as beaten. The tournament gained the name of the Little Battle of Chalons.<sup>1</sup>

On the 26th or 27th July Edward entered Paris, and forthwith did homage to his Royal cousin, Philip III, for 'all the lands that he ought to hold of him', a formula that left the future quite open. The territorial cessions stipulated by the treaty of Paris had not been fully carried out; the French King, however, was prepared to cede the Agenais, as required, and Edward repaid him £1,000 borrowed by Henry III from the late Louis.

A journey to Bordeaux, where the Queen was expecting her confinement, involved the King in two petty wars, one in support of the men of Limoges against the Viscountess Marguerite; the other against Gaston of Béarn, who had been running riot in

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 272-276, 304-306.

Gascony. The latter affair proved a wearisome business and contributed to keeping the King abroad for another year.

The winter over, Edward had intended to return home for his coronation, already so long deferred. But a courteous deference to a Papal request led him still further to delay the ceremony. Gregory had summoned a general Council to meet at Lyons on the 1st May 1274. He pressed Edward to attend in person ; but, at all events, not to allow the time of his coronation to clash with that of the Council ; the attendance of the English episcopate being required on either occasion. Edward put off his journey to England, but did not appear at the Council. The Fathers had actually been convened to agitate for a new Crusade. But the days of Crusades were passed. Not a lance would stir for the cause. But the clergy of the whole Western Church were forced to consent to the payment of Crusade Tenthhs for six successive years.

The Council ended, Edward made for the Channel ; but before embarking he was able happily to end the breach with Flanders caused by the preposterous demands of the aged Countess Margaret. Her son Guy met the King at Montreuil in Ponthieu, where peace was made, and freedom of commerce restored on mutual restitution of all goods seized on either side (28th July).

On the 2nd August (1274) Edward landed at Dover, after an absence of four years.<sup>1</sup>

Edward's reign had been held to begin on the day of his father's funeral, namely, the 20th November 1272.<sup>2</sup> But his title had yet to be confirmed by coronation. During the two years that had elapsed order had been maintained by the good management of the Chancellor, Walter of Merton, acting under the supervision of a Regency Committee, consisting of Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnet. These men had been appointed by Edward guardians of his children and his interests ; and their authority had been ratified by a General Parliament, that is to say, one to which knights and burgesses had been summoned, held in January 1273.

As a popular measure the much-dreaded visitations of the Itinerant Justices had been suspended ; that would affect the revenue. For the revenue of the first year 1272-1273 the Pells

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 306-309.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 280.



are defective, only returning £4,942 18s. 9d.,<sup>1</sup> Wardrobe Accounts being wholly wanting. But we find driblets of the Twentieth granted for Edward's Crusade coming in, so that we might suggest the amount of the last year of the previous reign, without Edward's allowance of £10,000; say, in round numbers, £33,000.

Pending preparations for his coronation, Edward accepted invitations to tide over the interval with the Earl of Gloucester at Tonbridge, and then with John of Warenne, Earl of Surrey, at Reigate. On the 18th August the King entered London in state, and met with a most jubilant reception. Next day he and Eleanor were duly hallowed and crowned at Westminster. Robert of Kilwardby, the Primate recently 'provided' by the Pope, officiated. Everything went off well; Alexander III of Scotland and John of Brittany were present, with their respective wives Margaret and Beatrice, the King's sisters. On the morrow both appeared among the great feudatories to render the usual homage; Alexander's homage being expressly restricted to the English estates.<sup>2</sup>

## 2 EDWARD I

For the year 1273-1274 the Pell and Wardrobe Accounts are complete, returning £24,666 1s. 9½d., just about the totals we used to get before Edward's allowance had to be met,<sup>3</sup> showing that the issues set apart to meet it were still accounted for separately.

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells) . . . . .	12,107	9	9½
Wardrobe, say . . . . .	12,558	12	0
	<hr/>		
	24,666	1	9½

But the Wardrobe Account includes £7,217 borrowed from Lucchese merchants and the Earl of Cornwall. With respect to the Tenth granted to Edward in Italy by the Pope, the chroniclers tell us that it was collected, but that a considerable portion of the proceeds was retained by Master Raymond, the

<sup>1</sup> See Table III. With respect to the so-called "Auditor's Rolls", they differ in no respect from those styled "Pells", being the copies of the Pell headed with the names of the Chamberlains (of the Upper Chamber), the original Pell being the Treasurer's copy.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 309-312.

<sup>3</sup> See Table XII, above.

Papal agent, for the disposition of the Holy Father. As for the balance, it must have been paid to creditors, because nothing of it appears.

### 3 EDWARD I

1274-1275. Edward came home from Palestine covered with glory, but considerably involved in debt, having had to borrow large sums from Italian merchants for his expenses, and these embarrassments "had a perceptible influence on the colour of his whole reign".<sup>1</sup> At any rate, he lost little time in disclosing to his subjects the policy that would characterize his government. It would be, outside the four seas, pacific; but within those bounds a policy of cultivating the revenue, and asserting by all legal means, and to the utmost extent, the rights and pretensions of the Crown. In short, an era of strong government and heavy taxation was foreshadowed. The late reign had been eminently favourable to encroachments on Crown rights, and the course of events had abundantly shown the expediency of still further curbing the power of the territorial magnates. On the 11th October (1274) the celebrated commission of *Quo Warranto* was issued, appointing Commissioners to hold inquests on oath, throughout the kingdom, as to what lands actually were in the King's hand, and what other lands, at any time, had been held by former Kings, and who had them then. With respect to the private franchises or 'liberties', the Commissioners were to report as to all rights impeding the common course of justice, or that might be considered purprestures, or encroachments on Royal property or Royal rights claimed, and by what title. The Commission must have thrown the whole landed interest of England into a perfect ferment. But the inquests were duly held, and their results eventually embodied in the well-known Hundred Rolls.<sup>2</sup>

On the 22nd April 1275 Edward opened his first 'General' Parliament. To this Parliament are to be referred two very important Acts, namely, the passing of the Statute of Westminster the First; and the grant of the Customs on wool,

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs. A statement of accounts of the 20th January 1276 showed £13,333 6s. 8d. still due to Orlandino del Poggio and Luca Natali of Lucca out of £41,206 6s. advanced by them to Edward abroad; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 161, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 312, 313.

wool fells, and leather, namely, export duties of 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool and 300 wool fells, and 13s. 4d. on the last of leather. With these customs, known thereafter as the *Antiqua* or *Magna Custuma*, we get a definite starting-point for the history of this branch of the revenue.<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen, Edward I was understood to have farmed the Customs to Italians for £4,000 a year in the last days of his father's reign. Three years later we are told they reached £8,800. We may assume a return of £6,000 from the first. But neither Pell nor Wardrobe seem to profit by the new returns; to all appearance they were still received by Italians and accounted for separately to the King.

"The Statute of Westminster the First in itself is almost a code." In fifty-one clauses it "traverses the whole field of legislation". As concerning finance, we can only note that the Aids for knighting the lord's eldest son or marrying his eldest daughter are fixed at 20s. the knight's fee, and the same for £20 (*liveres*) of socage land.

For the Exchequer Receipts the Pells show £12,551 13s. 11½d.; for the Wardrobe we may safely take the mean between the returns of the previous and those of the following years, or £13,000. Our account therefore will stand as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts . . . .	12,551	13	11½
Wardrobe, say . . . . .	13,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	25,551	13	11½
	<hr/>		

#### 4 EDWARD I

1275-1276. The duties on wool and leather had been secured; but a more general contribution from the community was needed to meet the King's actual and prospective needs. On the 13th October (1275) another Parliament was convened at Westminster, to which knights of the shire were summoned; a Fifteenth of movables was voted on the precedent of the year 1225, the higher clergy contributing. Edward pressed for

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 314. Wool might fetch £6 the sack. The sack of wool contained 20 stone of 14 lb.

the inclusion of the lower clergy, but the bishops demurred, pleading the Tenths that they had already given to the King, and the Papal Tenths voted in the Council of Lyons. The Parliament also distinguished itself by making a beginning of usury legislation, and anti-Jewish legislation, a prelude to further persecution to follow. The Jews were forbidden to lend money at interest—their staple calling—and required to pay a poll-tax; while the old rule obliging them to wear badges, viz. yellow strips of felt three inches wide and six long, was renewed.<sup>1</sup>

Over the western horizon hung the only real cloud of the time, where the attitude of Llewelyn II was ominous. We have seen the trouble that he had given in the previous reign; his hostilities, however, being ostensibly directed not against the King of England, but against his fellow vassals of the King of England, the King's son included. The Welsh Prince had failed to appear at the coronation, and had resisted repeated summonses to render homage. He had the effrontery to demand hostages for coming to Westminster, one of them to be the King's infant son Alfonso. He appealed to the Pope, taxing Edward, not without grounds, with harbouring rebels, Llewelyn's brother David being one of them. In refusing homage Llewelyn was breaking away from the policy of his grandfather, who never affected to reign otherwise than as a vassal Prince. An ill-advised marriage on Llewelyn's part now came in still further to provoke a rupture. He had never dropped his relations with the de Montforts, doubly obnoxious since the murder of Viterbo. The great Earl had promised him his only daughter Eleanor in marriage. Prudence might have suggested to the Prince the expediency of dropping an alliance so certain to be offensive to the King. Llewelyn, however, clung to the match. Early in 1276 the lady sailed from France for Wales, under the charge of her brother Amauri. Off the Scilly Isles the party was intercepted by Bristol cruisers, brought into port, and delivered to the King, who sent Eleanor to Windsor and Amauri to Corfe.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the Fifteenth, we have the official return, and it amounts to £81,201 13s. 9d.;<sup>3</sup> being a sum a little above that we found for the Fifteenth of 1225. Of the £81,201 13s. 9d.

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 210, 211, 216, 217.

<sup>3</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies, Lay".



just £2,293 were paid into the Treasury and Wardrobe of the year between them. But the proceeds of these Subsidies were never paid in all at once. The abnormal receipts of the Wardrobe for the next year, rising £25,000 above those of the present year, suggest a large contribution from the Fifteenth. But without doubt a large part of the Subsidy must have been placed in the hands of Italian merchants, Luke of Lucca, Orlandino del Poggio, and others, whom the King used as his bankers, paying in moneys to them, and drawing on them for expenditure.<sup>1</sup> Very likely large amounts were due to them. Anyhow, we take the accounts as we find them and thus they stand.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	11,439	5	6
Wardrobe	13,221	16	3½
	24,661	1	9½

## 5 EDWARD I

1276-1277. Llewelyn still refused to render his homage, demanding the release of his affianced bride, for which, however, he offered to pay liberally in money. His proposals were laid before a Parliament held on the 12th November, and rejected without hesitation. War was declared and a general muster of the military tenants agreed to ; but active operations would be deferred till Midsummer, careful arrangements, however, for the guarding of the Marches, meanwhile, being made.

On previous occasions, as we have seen, the threat of excommunication had been found an effectual weapon in dealing with Welsh princes. On the 13th November a formal notification was addressed to Llewelyn by the bishops, warning him that by his course of conduct he had already come under sentences denounced by previous archbishops against disturbers of the peace, and that if he failed to make satisfaction those sentences would become executive in a fortnight. Here again Llewelyn

<sup>1</sup> See Cal. Pat. Rolls, I. 203, 209 (Receipt of £1,417 13s. 4d. of the Fifteenth by them) and *passim*.

might have availed himself of the example of his grandfather, as an excuse for submission. But the thunders of the Church had no terrors for him, and were faced with unconcern. On the 27th February the sentences were formally proclaimed.<sup>1</sup>

At the appointed time (June-July) Edward appeared at Worcester. Three armies were placed in the field: one under Edmund of Lancaster to advance through Carmarthen into Ceredigion (Cardiganshire); a second under Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Roger Mortimer, entering our Montgomeryshire, recovered the upper basin of the Severn; Builth was won back for Roger Mortimer; the young Earl of Hereford<sup>2</sup> retook Brecheiniog, i. e. Brecknockshire; and Lancaster sealed the reduction of Ceredigion by re-establishing a fort at Llanbadarn, i. e. Aberystwyth. On the 18th July the King's army, accompanied by David, entered Wales from Chester, the fleet from the Cinque Ports co-operating to cut off supplies from Anglesey. Roads were pushed into the interior through forests. Driven to the hilly regions of Snowdon, Llewelyn was starved into submission. On the 9th November the King's terms were accepted by the Prince and embodied in the Treaty of Conway. Llewelyn to declare himself 'at the King's mercy' for £50,000; to surrender all claim to the four cantreds of Perfeddwladh ceded to him by Henry III,<sup>3</sup> as well as to all conquests made by Edward during the campaign, except Anglesey, which the King was pleased to restore as a male fief to be held at a rent of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) a year. To support his dignity as Prince he would be allowed the homage of five 'Snowdon barons' during his life.

On the 10th November, the day after the execution of the treaty, Llewelyn was brought under ceremonious escort to Rhuddlan, and there swore fealty. Edward then graciously remitted the Anglesey rent and the impossible amercement. In due course the Prince received absolution, came to London under safe-conduct, assisted at the Christmas festivities, did homage, received the kiss of peace, and was sent safely home.<sup>4</sup>

On the 10th November the forces were paid off and disbanded.

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 318, 319.

<sup>2</sup> Humphrey Bohun II.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 263; the grant ceded almost all Denbigh and Flint.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 319-321; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 335, &c.

The charge for crossbowmen, archers, and foot-spearmen for 108 days from 18th July to 10th November is given as £4,762.<sup>1</sup> Assuming these to have been organized on the established system by centuries at 2*d.* a man a day, with a Twentyman at 6*d.* a day, and a mounted Constable at 1*s.* a day over each hundred, the given sum would represent a total averaging about 4,600 foot from first to last.

With respect to cavalry, we have no primary pay entered except for garrison duty. But we have the usual "regard" or extra pay and allowance for loss of horses amounting to £1,633. This extra pay on a very full later paysheet is found just to equal the primary pay. Assuming that to have been the case in 1277, we should have a total of about 1,500 mounted men. Mr. Morris suggests 1,000 lances and 800 mounted crossbowmen.<sup>2</sup> The Patent Rolls give the names of 181 gentlemen going to Wales for different terms of service with Lincoln, Warwick, Edmund, and the King.<sup>3</sup> We may notice the introduction of the system of paid soldiery for arranged terms of service.

The returns from the Customs should now average £8,800 yearly.<sup>4</sup> But perhaps we need not notice them here.

#### Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	10,727	19	4
Wardrobe	35,713	16	10½
	46,441	16	2½

## 6 EDWARD I

1277-1278. A leisurely progress along the Welsh March to which Edward had devoted the autumn enabled Llewelyn's marriage to Eleanor to be finally celebrated; the nuptial knot was tied at Worcester on the 13th October; King and Queen were present, also the King of Scotland.

Alexander had come to England on a business to which recent

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Morris, *Welsh Wars* of Ed. I, 140, from Pipe Roll 7 Ed. I (last membrane).

<sup>2</sup> *Welsh Wars*, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 190, 220, &c.

<sup>4</sup> So Sir Matthew Hale, writing from accounts no longer extant; Hargreaves, *Tracts*, 154 (London, 1784).

events in Wales gave a marked significance. The scope of the homage rendered by Alexander and his two predecessors still remained an open question. Apparently it was intentionally left indeterminate; at any rate, it is clear that at no time since 1217 had the Scottish Kings been without English possessions for which homage would be done. Edward now pressed Alexander to render an unrestricted homage. This was rendered at Westminster on Michaelmas Day (1278) in words which have been preserved. The Scottish King simply declared himself the liegeman of Edward as against all men. Edward accepted his homage saving his claim and right to demand homage for the Crown of Scotland. Alexander then took the oath of fealty, swearing that he would render the services due for the lands he held of the King of England.<sup>1</sup>

The war with Llewelyn had been successful, but it had been costly. A scutage of £2 on the knight's fee was called for from the tenants who had not been called upon to serve in person. In June 1278 an old financial expedient was revived, namely, that of calling on all freeholders worth £20 a year to come forward to be knighted by the King, or pay for exemption. In July a heavy tallage was laid on the Jews, the commissioners being directed to attach all moneys due to Jews. Late in the year a ferocious attack was sprung upon them on a charge of clipping coin; 193 Israelites were executed in London alone, besides numbers put to death in other cities. Of course, all their goods would be confiscated.

But the returns from these sources would prove quite insufficient; and Edward had to throw himself on the generosity of the Pope, begging for an 'advance' of 25,000 marks (£16,666 13s. 4d.) from the Crusade Tenths voted at Lyons. Nicholas III,<sup>2</sup> with some hesitation, granted the boon; but on condition that the King should again take the Cross.<sup>3</sup>

With so many barons in the field the scutage would not yield much; but with the tallages on the Jews we get a total such as we used to get in the latter part of the late reign without Edward's £10,000.

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 322, 323; Foedera.

<sup>2</sup> Crowned 26th December 1277.

<sup>3</sup> Order for payment to Edward I, August 1278; Bliss, Calendar, Papal Registers, I. 455.



Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts . . . . .	11,501	9	1½
Wardrobe . . . . .	19,266	7	3
	<hr/>		
	30,767	16	4½
	<hr/>		

## 7 EDWARD I

1278-1279. In connexion with the attacks on the Jews, it appears that the currency, the issue of 1246-1248, of which we heard above, was in a bad state, much clipped and defaced; and that trade, and especially foreign trade, suffered in consequence. The clipping would be facilitated by the practice of breaking the silver penny into halves and quarters for change. On the 8th December (1278) the King forbade the exportation of all broken or defaced coin.<sup>1</sup> On the same day he sealed an agreement for the issue of new coinage with William de Turnemire of Marseilles, a foreigner again being chosen to carry out this important operation. He was to establish and maintain at his own charge furnaces at London, Canterbury, Bristol, and York, besides the three furnaces already maintained at Canterbury by the Archbishop. The currency was to consist of pennies, half-pennies, and farthings (*denarii*, *oboli*, *quadrantes*), all circular in shape; he was also to strike 'great pennies' (*gros deniers*), groats of the value of four pennies. For the cost and charges of the minting he was to receive 7*d.* in the £1; but for the greater cost of striking the small money he would receive 10*d.* in the £1. In all cases 12*d.* in the £1 to go for the King's profit or seigniorage; the new coin being delivered in exchange for the old under a deduction of 16*d.* in the £1.<sup>2</sup> The dies for the new money were delivered to Gregory of Rokesley, Mayor of London, and Orlandino del Poggio on the 12th May 1279, and the coin began to be issued after that.<sup>3</sup> Clipped and broken coin was then put out of circulation, but undefaced coin of the old issue was allowed to run for a year afterwards. The old standards of weight and

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, I. 564.<sup>2</sup> Waverley, 280.<sup>3</sup> See Ruding, *Annals of Mint*, I. 193, 194. At p. 193 the date 8 December 1279 must be read 1278; also Dawn, 326, and authorities there cited. For the coins of Edward I see Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 199 (ed. 1887).

purity were maintained. Financially, the affair proved a great success, as on previous occasions. The Wardrobe Accounts of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th years show between them returns to the amount of £36,875 under this head from the English Mints.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of Paris of 1259 yet lacked final confirmation, and the cession of the Agenais had still to be accomplished. About the 13th May (1279) Edward sailed from Dover for a settlement of questions with Philippe *le Hardi*. On the 23rd May the great treaty was once more ratified, and the Agenais definitely made over. But the complicated questions of the minor cessions within the dioceses of Limoges, Cahors, and Périgueux, i. e. the "*Quercin Toulousan*", was apparently left open for further arbitration.

The absolute surrender of all claim to the old Northern provinces was the price of the cession of the Agenais. But at this very time Fortune had again given England a footing on the Channel coast of France, through the devolution to Queen Eleanor from her mother, recently deceased, of the counties of Ponthieu and Aumâle. On the day of the confirmation of the treaty the King arranged to pay Philip £6,000 Parisis (£1,500 sterling) as the *Rachat* or Relief of Ponthieu.<sup>2</sup>

For the year's revenue, even with the Papal subvention, we get but a moderate return.

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts . . . . .	10,352	8	3
Wardrobe . . . . .	26,253	11	2½
	<hr/>		
	36,605	19	5½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 327.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 329, 330, q.v. for the devolution of Ponthieu from the House of Talevas.

## 8 EDWARD I

1279-1280. With the promotion to the Primacy of a new Archbishop, John of Peckham, Provincial Minister of the Franciscans in England, Church questions came to the front. Peckham, an Oxford man of distinguished character and attainment, had been "provided" by Pope Nicholas, who consecrated him himself on the 19th February 1279. In view of the recent grant of marks the King could only enter a formal protest against the usurpation.

Seldom since the Conquest had Kings and Archbishops worked harmoniously together. So far, however, Edward had had no trouble with Robert Kilwardby as Archbishop. Peckham, as if to make up for the shortcomings of his predecessor, lost no time in proclaiming a militant pontificate. On landing at Dover on the 4th June (1279), without waiting for Royal licence, he summoned a Provincial Synod to meet at Reading on the 30th July. His next step was to request the King's Justices to suspend their proceedings in *Quo Warranto* against the Earl of Gloucester, as the rights of Canterbury might be affected thereby. In the Synod he ordered his clergy to denounce periodically sundry classes of offenders as *ipso facto* already excommunicate, under sentences uttered by previous Archbishops. Among the condemned categories would be included all invaders of the 'liberty' of the Church; more especially those who obtained royal writs to obstruct proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts; all disturbers of the peace; all violators of *Magna Carta*. He also ordered the clergy to keep copies of *Magna Carta*, at least of the part granting full liberty to the Church, affixed to the doors of all cathedral and collegiate churches. But Peckham was promptly called to order. He was summoned to the October Parliament of the year, and forced to withdraw the Reading sentences against applications for King's writs, invasions of Church property, or neglect to enforce ecclesiastical censures.

The King followed up this blow by producing the Statute *De Religiosis*, or the first Mortmain Act. Lands held by a corporation, that is to say an undying person, were said to be held *in mortua manu*, such lands as concerning feudal incidents

being practically dead to the overlord. Neither Wardship nor Marriage, neither Relief nor escheat, could accrue in respect of such tenements. Complaints on the subject were of long standing. The second Charter of Henry III and the Provisions of Westminster endeavoured to check the acquisition of land by religious Houses, except with consent of the lord of whom the same were immediately holden. The present Act, after reciting the last-named enactment and its entire failure, forbids the acquisition in the future by any Religious person of any lands or tenements, whether by purchase, lease, gift, or other title or pretence whatsoever, under penalty of forfeiture to the immediate lord, or, in case of his neglect, to the lord next above him, and so ultimately to the Crown.<sup>1</sup> This measure would seem explicit enough. But the ingenuity of the clerical party, and their legal advisers, and the readiness of the Crown to grant dispensations, enabled them to baffle, not only this Act, but also whole centuries of similar legislation, extending down to the days of George II, when a final and complete victory was gained by the lawyers.

The production of the Statute *De Religiosis* was followed, rather cruelly, by a demand on the part of the King for another Fifteenth from the clergy, the lesser clergy being invited to contribute on the ground that they had escaped taxation in 1275. 'As with the people so with the priest' was the King's word now. The Archbishops agreed to lay the matter before their Provincial assemblies. The Convocation of Canterbury met in January 1280, and granted a Fifteenth for three years; the diocesan Synods of the Northern Provinces, meeting at different times, granted a Tenth for two years;<sup>2</sup> making together just two Tenths.

On the rather obscure question of the taxable incomes of the clergy we should perhaps distinguish three kinds of revenue. (1) Baronies of the higher clergy and other lands held on military or other lay tenures. These would be pure temporalities, and the taxes on them would be voted in Parliament. (2) The glebes of the parochial clergy and lands held in 'pure alms' would form an intermediate category, regarded as partly temporal and partly spiritual. (3) Church fees, tithes, and offerings of the parochial clergy would be pure spiritualities. Grants from

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 332; October 1279.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 332, 333.

both the last would have, presumably, to be voted by clerical assemblies.<sup>1</sup>

For the year's revenue the Michaelmas Pell is wanting, but looking at our Table it will be seen that £6,000 might safely be allowed as an average return. The Easter Pell shows £7,294 7s. 7½d., and the Wardrobe £17,080 19s. 10½d. The revenue therefore should stand thus :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pell), Michaelmas, say . . . . .	6,000	0	0
Do., Easter. . . . .	7,294	7	7½
Wardrobe . . . . .	17,080	19	10½
	<hr/>		
	30,375	7	6

Two of these are official returns, but they cannot be accepted as giving anything like the full receipts of the year. On the Patent Rolls we have in one place £32,000 from the Customs paid over to Lucchese merchants, for advances already made to the King.<sup>2</sup> In another place we have further loans to the amount of £19,621 13s. 4d. paid off by Gregory of Rokesley and Orlandino del Poggio from the yield of the minting.<sup>3</sup> How much of all this should be credited to the year's revenue we cannot say, but the Treasury returns are clearly inadequate. A further sum of £1,066 13s. 4d. from the re-coining appears in the Wardrobe Accounts.

## 9 EDWARD I

1280-1281. The year 1281 brings us to the last chapter in the dismal history of Welsh independence. From the English point of view it seems impossible to blame Edward for resolving to incorporate the Principality. To the English, Wales under native rule was a standing nuisance ; while the country had shown no such capacity for self-government as to entitle her aspirations for independence to our sympathy. Edward had treated the Prince with liberality so far as money went, but it is not clear that in other respects he gave him a fair trial. The treaty of Conway had provided that justice should be rendered according to the laws and customs of the parts where the lands were

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 333. See Bishop Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 179, &c. He only makes two categories, however. <sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, I. 355, <sup>3</sup> Id. 358.



situate—March lands according to March custom and Welsh lands according to Welsh custom. To Edward's action in overruling native custom and requiring suit and service to be rendered to Hundred Courts and County Courts the revolt that ensued was mainly attributable. The Welsh took their stand on the Laws of Howel Dha; the English Justices rejected these as barbarous, inasmuch as they provided no adequate penalty for such crimes as murder or arson. Questions soon arose. A proposal to submit controversies between Llewelyn and Gruffudd to settlement by the King's Justices, according to Welsh law, was beset with difficulties. Finally, on the 6th June 1281 Edward formally notified the Prince that a Royal Commission had found by inquest what laws and customs either on the March, or in Wales, had obtained recognition under previous reigns; and that by those laws and customs—and inferentially, by those alone—justice would be rendered as between him and Gruffudd.<sup>1</sup> A movement in favour of revolt spread rapidly; a reconciliation between Llewelyn and his brother David was effected; and an understanding also arrived at with discontented chieftains in the South; but the outbreak stood over till the following year.<sup>2</sup>

For the year's revenue the profits of the minting still come in, but to a more moderate amount. On the Patent Rolls we find £5,200 paid out, besides £2,300 paid in to the Wardrobe. We also have £7,000 brought to London from the gains made at York, Bristol, and Lincoln, but these were kept in hand. The Pells of the Easter term are wanting, but on the average of other years we may allow £5,000. The Wardrobe Accounts show £14,548. The total therefore will stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pell), Michaelmas . . . . .	9,876	2	7
Do., Easter, say . . . . .	5,000	0	0
Wardrobe . . . . .	14,548	0	0
Mint . . . . .	17,202	6	8
	<hr/>		
	46,626	9	3

To the Wardrobe Account £2,300 had been contributed from the Mint, so that the profits so far must have reached something like £40,000.

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 335-337.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 337, 338.

## 10 EDWARD I

1281-1282. The final crisis in Welsh affairs was precipitated by the wild action of David, who had been very ill treated by his brother and very well treated by the late King. Henry had given him lands valued at £1,000 a year, a perfect appanage. But the Justiciar of North Wales had ventured to hang one of David's men for an offence not considered hanging matter by Welsh law, and had even cited David himself to his court for a suit relating to land. This was more than could be endured. On the Eve of Palm Sunday, 21st March (1272), he fell by night on Hawarden Castle, and dragging the offending Justiciar from his bed, carried him off, badly wounded, to the wilds of Snowdon.

The Welsh sprang to arms as one man. Llewelyn joined his brother and ravaged the country up to the walls of Chester. The southern chieftains, Gruffudd son of Maredudd and Rhys son of Maelgwn the Little, stormed Aberystwyth and Llandovery.<sup>1</sup>

Edward lost not an hour in taking steps to check the movement. On the 25th March commanders were appointed for the Marches; on the 5th April he held a Council; and next day writs were issued to 157 lay tenants, calling on them to meet at Worcester on the 17th May for an expedition to Wales. The wage-system had answered so well in the previous war that the King announces it at once, 'affectionately requesting' the magnates to come in 'at his pay' (*ad vadia nostra*). These words "as addressed to earls were quite unprecedented", and suggest that Edward wished to raise an army entirely composed of paid troops.<sup>2</sup> If so, the scheme was not fully carried out. When the host came to Worcester in May fresh writs were issued to clergy and laity for a fuller muster, to meet at Rhuddlan on the 2nd August, but not at the King's pay. Nevertheless in the starting of the system of paying soldiers, Edward's Welsh wars must be held to mark a turning-point in our military history.

The campaign began early in June, when the town of St. Asaph was burnt down, cathedral and all. On the 2nd August the King held his grand muster at Rhuddlan. He himself moved along the March, and remained on the border, or in Welsh parts,

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 338, 339; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 339.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Morris, Welsh Wars, 74.

directing affairs, till the end of the following year; and the Courts of Exchequer and King's Bench were brought to Shrewsbury as had been done in the previous year. The Welsh apparently kept on the defensive in their recesses, the English endeavouring to hunt them down, the Welsh retaliating savagely, as and when they could. For the course of the war we pass from the gathering in August to the month of October, when, without any cessation of hostilities, Archbishop Peckham, as a solemn duty to his erring flock, came forward to urge the Welsh to submit.<sup>1</sup> Llewelyn repelled his charges, forwarding a list of "greefes" which included not only the violation of the treaty, by the introduction of English law and procedure to govern strictly Welsh cases, but also violations of the amnesty clauses of the treaty, with divers acts of oppression and injustice brought home not only to the King's officers, but also to the King himself. Ignoring the power and determination of the King, the Welsh argue the question with a pertinacity worthy of their countryman in Shakespeare's play. As a last effort, Peckham paid a personal visit to the Prince to induce him to give the absolute submission required by the King, offering a liberal establishment in England. But Llewelyn was obdurate. His people would not allow him to abdicate if he would.<sup>2</sup> So the war had to be fought out to the bitter end.

With the introduction of payment of soldiers war had become more costly than ever, and all the resources of the country had to be pressed to the utmost. A scutage had been called for at Rhuddlan; but the lay barons were all in the field; churchmen, however, who failed to send in their due contingents were fined 40s. and even 50 marks for each man short. We have seen that there were still substantial sums from the profits of the minting in hand. From the Canterbury Fifteenths and York Tenths of 1280 £9,712 had come in. But the chief resource of the moment was borrowing. For an immediate supply, advances to the amount of £11,700 were obtained from Italian merchants; the Queen's possessions in Ponthieu were mortgaged; while John Kirkby, Keeper of the Wardrobe, afterwards Treasurer,

<sup>1</sup> For details of the forces and operations see Morris, *sup.* 152-179.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 341-343; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 339-340; and especially Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 149-181.

was instructed to open private negotiations with counties, boroughs, and Religious Houses for 'Benevolences' (" *Pro bona voluntate Regis habenda* "). In this way the sum of £16,524 7s. 6d. was raised, the King promising that the money should reckon against any future subsidy. Edward had directed his brother Edmund Earl of Cornwall, who was left in charge of affairs in the South, to lay an embargo on all Crusade Tenths. Edmund proceeded to 'borrow' £4,175 from the Crusade Tenths laid up in the Temple and elsewhere. Nicholas III had advanced 25,000 marks to Edward out of these Tenths. But he had passed away, and his successor, Martin IV, would not listen to any further 'advances', except on the imperative condition, not merely of an assumption of the Cross, but of the *bona fide* prosecution of the pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	14,703	12	4½
Wardrobe	71,351	6	0
	86,054	18	4½

## II AND 12 EDWARD I

1282-1284. In spite of the difficulties with which he had to contend, Edward's determination was unbroken. The military tenants of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon were requested to turn out again for a muster at Carmarthen. Commissioners were appointed to impress 3,000 men, and writs issued for a Parliament to meet in January 1283 to vote supplies.

But, ere that, the end had been hastened by the defeat and death of Llewelyn. Leaving his brother in the hills, he came down for a last wild raid in the South. After devastating the estates of Gruffudd ap Maredudd on the lower Towy, he turned towards the Mortimer estates on the upper Wye. On reaching Pont Orewin, a bridge on the Chwefri, a stream whose waters join the Wye just above Builth, he found himself confronted by Edmund Mortimer and John Giffard of Bromfield. An action ensued in which the Welsh were defeated and scattered. Among

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 340; Bliss, I. 467. Nicholas III died 22nd August 1280; Martin IV was crowned 23rd March 1281. H. Nicolas.



the fallen was found the body of the Prince (31 December 1272). His head was cut off and sent to the King at Rhuddlan. He made the most of the grisly trophy, and sent it to London to be carried through the streets, crowned, in mock fulfilment of a Welsh prophecy that he should be crowned there.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Llewelyn was a grievous blow to the Welsh, but it did not crush their spirit. Edward had to provide for a continuance of the war. Military tenants in moderate numbers were called to meet at Montgomery and Carmarthen in May, to be backed by levies of 5,000 light-armed foot. This arm was coming into prominence, as the one clearly best suited for guerrilla warfare in a hilly country. At last, on the 28th June, Edward was able to proclaim to the country the glad news that David the archtraitor, David the exile, whom he had fostered and protected, had been delivered into his hands. With every defensible stronghold taken, he had been wandering from refuge to refuge, till on the 21st June he was captured by some of his own countrymen, and brought to Rhuddlan. On the 30th September he was arraigned before a Parliament sitting as a High Court of Justice at Shrewsbury, just as in Anglo-Saxon days the Witenagemote would have sat on a state prisoner. On the 2nd October he suffered a traitor's doom.<sup>2</sup>

The Parliament summoned by the King in December (1282) duly met on the 20th January 1283. Clergy and laity had been directed to meet, not all together, but in Provincial assemblies, at Northampton and York. The laity agreed to give a Thirtieth; but the clergy, pleading the Fifteenths and Tenths to the King granted in 1280, and contributions for the Crusade demanded by the Pope, declined to make any further grant. Twice recalled to consider their refusal, the Canterbury clergy at the end of the year agreed to a Thirtieth. The Northern Province eventually agreed to give a Tenth for two years.

With regard to the year's revenue, a separate account of it cannot very well be given, because the Wardrobe Accounts, with all the war expenditure of this year and the next, are thrown

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 344, 345; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 340, 341; Morris, *sup.* 181-184.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 346, 347; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 341; and especially Morris, *sup.* 173-181.



together, and the receipts of the two years are very much mixed up. Leaving the accounts of the 11th year to be dealt with along with those of the 12th year, we will go on with the events of the latter year 1283-1284.

The settlement of Wales furnished occupation for the King during the rest of the year 1283 and on to Christmas 1284. Gwenllïan, the infant daughter of Llewelyn, was sent to live and die in a nunnery; David's daughters shared the same fate, while his sons were imprisoned at Bristol.<sup>1</sup> Aberystwyth was rebuilt, and impregnable fortresses were established at Carnarvon and Conway. Minor forts at Bere Harlech and Criccieth drew a stony belt round Snowdon.

The subjugation of Wales, however, would have been very imperfect without the introduction of English principles of law and the English system of administration. On the 19th March 1284 a Code of Laws for the Principality was published by the King as a Royal Ordinance. The essential features of the scheme are the rearrangement of the northern parts of the country under the counties of Flint, Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth; the last three, representing Gwynedd, are subjected to the jurisdiction of a Justiciar of Snowdon; while Flint is placed under the Justiciar of Chester. For these four counties, and the existing counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen, sheriffs, coroners, and bailiffs are also appointed. The rest of the country is left to be administered as franchises under English or Welsh law, as the case might be—with another Justiciar for West Wales. Another novelty was the law of Dower, till then said to be unknown. In the law of inheritance Edward indulged the Welsh with the retention of the custom of equal division among males, excluding, however, bastards, who till then had been allowed to participate. The Act gives a compendious and instructive view of the ordinary course of justice in England at the time, and is well worthy of consideration from that point of view.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the combined revenues of the 11th and 12th years, 1182-1183 and 1183-1184, for extraordinary war taxation we have the yield of the Thirtieth, given as £36,330;<sup>3</sup> and that

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 349. For speculations as to David's issue see Rhys, *sup.* 343.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 349-351. See Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 343-355.

<sup>3</sup> Chancellor's Roll, No. 84.

of the Customs as £22,216; Benevolences (*Dona*) from counties, towns, and clergy, £17,926; arrears of clerical grants, £500; scutage fines, £2,959.<sup>1</sup> For the 11th year the Michaelmas Pells return £6,516 9s. 11½*d.* The Easter Pells are wanting, but we can again allow £6,000. For the 12th year the Pell Issue for Michaelmas has £6,126 12s. 9½*d.* For the wanting Easter Roll we can again take £6,000. For the two years together the Wardrobe returns £82,693 10s. The whole then will stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts . . . . .	6,516	9	11½
Do. . . . .	6,000	0	0
Do. . . . .	6,126	12	9½
Do. . . . .	6,000	0	0
Wardrobe . . . . .	82,693	10	0
	<hr/>		
	107,336	12	9

For the several years the half of this would be £53,668 5s. 4½*d.*

During the period covered by this account, Martin IV, yielding to the King's instances, expressed a willingness to give him the proceeds of the six years' Crusade Tenth in hand, with a concession of the same for three more years to come.<sup>2</sup>

For the expenses of the war we append the table printed by Sir H. Ellis from the Chancellor's Roll, No. 84 (duplicate of Pipe Roll), as an Appendix to Oxnead's Chronicle (Rolls Series, No. 84). The total shown from 7th April 1282 to 31st October 1283 with fortifications amounts to £89,248 10s. Pay-sheets printed by Mr. Morris from the records bring the total with castle-building "in 1285 and onwards" to £98,421. Anyhow, we see that the war was fully financed, the Wardrobe Accounts of the three years showing £154,044 16s.

For the strength of the King's forces the numbers varied perpetually, the practice being to take men on for short periods, dismiss them, and then call out fresh men. Thus the infantry could vary from 8,000 to 2,350 at intervals. For lances 1,000 to 1,200 would be the most called out.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the figures, Morris, 197, from Exchequer Acc.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, I. 652.

<sup>3</sup> See Morris, sup. 173, 178.

## 13 EDWARD I

1284-1285. Legislation was the feature of the year. On the 28th June the well-known "Statute of Westminster the Second" was published; to be followed on the 8th October by the "Statute of Winchester". Both exhibit the King's anxiety for legal reform, and the suppression of the crimes of violence that fill the membranes of our public Records. The Statute of Winchester may be considered "of archaeological interest only", being a consolidation of the existing regulations of Watch and Ward, and the Assize of Arms; the gates of walled towns to be closed, and watch kept by suitable numbers of men from sunset to sunrise from Michaelmas to Ascension Day; highways between market and borough towns to be cleared of underwood to a width of 200 yards on each side of the way; every man from fifteen years of age to sixty to be sworn to keep by him the arms required by the Assize; the highest class, those worth £15 a year in land or 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) in goods, to have a hauberk (*halibergeum*), skull-cap, dagger, and horse; men worth £10 in land and 20 marks in goods to have the same equipment, save the horse; those who can afford no more, a bow and arrows.

The "Statute of Westminster the Second" (13 Edward I) is a much more living Act and the basis of many important points in Real Property Law. On the first section of the Act the law of "entail" to this day rests.

Of the revenue of the year no account can be given. The Michaelmas Pells are wanting and so are the Wardrobe Accounts; the Easter Pell shows receipts to the amount of £11,902 3s. 8d., a sum higher than any yet presented by a single term; but on that alone we cannot base an estimate of the year. For an uneventful year the reader will not expect us to go through the labour of adding up a Pipe Roll.

Martin IV passed away in March 1285. His successor, Honorius IV, was willing to confirm Martin's concession to the six years' Tenth in hand, but nothing more.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 20th April 1285; Foedera, I. 652.

## 14 EDWARD I

1285-1286. The King throughout had been most careful in cultivating foreign relations. The conquest of Wales had added not a little to his European reputation, already very high. All Christendom was bespeaking his intervention in the settlement of divers state differences. The relations of France both with Castile and Aragon had been troubled, in the one case by a disputed succession to the throne of Castile, vacant by the death of Alfonso X, Edward's brother-in-law;<sup>1</sup> and in the other case by the expulsion of the French from Sicily by Peter III of Aragon ("*Sicilian Vespers*", 30th March 1282). In these matters, naturally, Edward felt deeply interested, but with the Welsh war on hand he could not intervene. In 1285 preparations were made for a visit to France, but eventually Edward stayed at home to attend to domestic legislation.<sup>2</sup> But with European movements in course of development, Edward had deemed it prudent to stand well at the diplomatic centre of the Western World. On the 7th July 1284 he paid up two years of the Papal rent; later he assigns pensions of 60 marks a year to Cardinal Matthew; of 50 marks to Cardinal James; of 20 marks to the Papal Notary, Master Albert. In May 1286 the long-deferred visit to France at last took place. Edward was not called now to mediate between Philip III and Alfonso X, or between Peter III and Charles of Anjou—all these personages had passed away—but to endeavour to settle the animosities bequeathed by them to their successors. On the 13th May Edward sailed from Dover with the Queen and a brilliant following. The Earl of Cornwall being left at home as acting Regent.<sup>3</sup>

At Amiens Edward was received by the newly crowned King of France, Philippe IV, *Le Bel*, a cool, handsome lad of seventeen, destined to emerge as "conqueror on a field on which so many had failed, the tamer of the Papacy". On the 5th June Edward duly did homage for all the lands that he held of Philip oversea 'according to the treaty between our ancestors'. But this recognition was only conceded on the understanding that the

<sup>1</sup> Alfonso died 21st April 1284.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 351-355.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 14 Ed. 248. For Edward's retinue, a perfect army, see id. 233. The Earl of Cornwall was Edmund of Allmaine, surviving son of the King of the Romans.

deficiencies under the Treaty of Paris would be made good by Philip. On this weary question a satisfactory compromise was at last effected. Philip ceded the territory in Saintonge 'beyond', i. e. to the South of the Charente; while Edward accepted a rent of 3,000 *livres Tournois* (£750 sterling) per annum in exchange for the claims lying within the diocese of Cahors.

Edward, on the other hand, was not neglectful of his mediatorial mission. Both Philip and the young King of Aragon, Alfonso III, wished for peace, and had authorized Edward to negotiate a truce. But the Papacy stood in the way. Martin IV had anathematized Peter III for his invasion of a fief claimed by the Church; and his successor, Honorius IV,<sup>1</sup> was as bitter against the late Peter's son. Matters remaining in suspense, Christmas was kept by Edward at Bordeaux. Meanwhile Edward was parleying with Honorius on the question of embarking on the Crusade, that having been the condition under which all the Papal Tenthhs had been granted to him. He wanted all Crusaders to be summoned simultaneously, and, for himself, demanded a fresh grant of Tenthhs for seven years from Great Britain and Ireland. Without waiting for the answer of the Holy See, Edward proceeded to lay hands on the Tenthhs already come in or due, to be found in the monasteries of the kingdom, borrowing wholesale, but binding himself to repayment on demand. From one set of abbeys he took £6,366 13s. 4d.; from another set, £6,833 6s. 8d.; £8,000 from the Papal collector; and £3,666 13s. 4d. from the Hospital of St. John;<sup>2</sup> in all, £24,866 13s. 4d. How much of this bonus reached the Exchequer may be questioned; but whether or not, we get a handsome return. The Easter Pell is wanting, but we may allow the sum found on the Pell of the previous year, namely £11,902 3s. 8d. We shall therefore stand as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pell), Michaelmas . . . . .	13,635	8	10
Do., Easter, say . . . . .	11,902	3	8
Wardrobe . . . . .	20,413	3	8½
	<hr/>		
	45,950	16	2½

<sup>1</sup> Martin IV died 28th March 1285; Honorius was crowned 4th or 6th May following; H. Nicolas.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 232, 244.



## 15 EDWARD I

1286-1287. Not till July 1287 was Edward able to arrange a meeting with Alfonso III of Aragon. They met at Oloron in Béarn. Ten days the conferences lasted, the time being divided between dancing, tilting, and diplomacy. Alfonso had in his hands the Prince of Salerno, by rights Charles II of Naples, who had been taken prisoner in 1282 by the Aragonese in the war with Sicily. Alfonso hoped, as the price of the liberation of the Prince of Salerno, to obtain recognition by the Papacy of himself as King of Aragon, and that of his brother James as King of Sicily. On the 25th July a treaty was signed which Edward and Alfonso fondly hoped might be accepted. The Papacy at the time was vacant; but the new Pope, Nicholas IV, when elected, immediately rejected the agreement, insisting on the unconditional liberation of his 'dear son in Christ' Charles. The Papacy still would be content with nothing short of an absolute victory.<sup>1</sup>

At home under the Earl of Cornwall as the King's *locum tenens* the year might have passed quietly but for an outbreak by Rhys ap Maredudd, who had sided with Edward in both wars, and had been liberally rewarded. But nothing could reconcile him to the humiliation of rendering suit and service to the King's new Courts of the County and Hundred. On Sunday 8th June 1287 he rose and captured the hapless castles of Llandovery and Carrigcennen; after that he burned Swansea, and ravaged most of the country from Carmarthen to Aberystwyth. Cornwall called out the military tenants with levies of foot-soldiers to follow. Desultory operations lasted to February (1288) when Rhys was driven out of Wales. He ventured to return in 1292, was caught and hanged at York; "and so ended the last of the lords of Dynevor".<sup>2</sup>

To Edward's demand for a grant of Crusade Tenths for seven more years, Honorius made no immediate answer; but, ultimately, he vouchsafed to grant them for three more years.<sup>3</sup>

For the year's revenue we have the Michaelmas Pell and the

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 359. Honorius IV died 3rd April 1287; Nicholas IV was crowned 22nd or 23rd February 1288.

<sup>2</sup> Tout; Dawn, 363, 364. See also Morris, sup. 319, and Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 271-275.

<sup>3</sup> Foedera, I. 652, 674.



Wardrobe. The Easter Pell is wanting, but on the averages shown on our Table we can again suggest £11,000 in round numbers as a safe estimate.

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells), Michaelmas . . . . .	10,378	19	8
Do., Easter, say . . . . .	11,000	0	0
Wardrobe . . . . .	17,004	17	5½
	<hr/>		
	38,383	17	1½
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## 16 EDWARD I

1287-1288. The terms for the liberation of Charles of Anjou proposed at Oloron having failed, Edward was urged to find some other means of setting the Prince at liberty. To bring Alfonso III more readily to terms, Edward went into Aragon, and there obtained the desired end by arranging a treaty, in which, in the most chivalrous manner, he took upon himself the burden of paying the whole price of the liberation of his cousin.<sup>1</sup> He deposited at once 23,000 marks in cash, with contingent obligations that might run up to 70,000 marks (£46,666 13s. 4d.). Set free on these terms, Charles presented himself to the Pope at Reate, and was crowned King of Naples and Sicily as Charles II 'the Lamb'.

Edward was perpetually pressing the Popes for grants of Crusade Tenths, but neither of them would concede anything except on the absolute condition of his embarking on an actual Crusade. In 1285 Honorius IV declined to go beyond the grants of his predecessor; but in June of the following year, yielding to Edward's instances, he agreed to grant six extra years of Tenths, in addition to those already raised, but always on the usual conditions.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to suppose that Edward ever honestly contemplated a second journey to Palestine. But, in February 1287, on recovering from an attack of illness at Blanquefort in the Gironde, he had once more taken the Cross. The King having

<sup>1</sup> A further connexion with Edward lay in the fact that Charles's father, Charles of Naples, was married to Beatrice of Provence, Edward's aunt.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 366.

gone so far in the way of part-performance, the new Pontiff, Nicholas IV, made a corresponding step in advance to meet him, not only renewing the previous grants, but fixing the times at which the money might be paid to Edward. The collection of the fresh Tenths would begin forthwith; but the proceeds would not be handed over till the King had actually made a start; the money in hand to be delivered to him, half at Midsummer 1290, and half at Midsummer 1291; but still on condition of making an actual start by Midsummer 1292, and under a solemn pledge to refund the whole, if through his own neglect or default he should fail to start then. If his passage should be interfered with by a 'legitimate impediment', he would be allowed to retain from the Tenths half the amount expended in actual preparations. In its zeal for the Crusade the *Curia* could put its trust even in princes.

By subsequent Bulls the grant was confirmed, and orders given for a new and more stringent assessment of Church property. The valuation was carried out in 1291; and as we shall see, became known as the valuation of Pope Nicholas.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout our twelvemonth, and through the greater part of the ensuing one, Edward remained abroad. For the revenue of the year the Rolls are extant as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pell), Michaelmas . . . . .	11,624	5	8
Do., Easter . . . . .	10,854	14	6
Wardrobe . . . . .	17,004	17	5½
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	39,483	17	7½
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## 17 EDWARD I

1288-1289. Edward remained abroad, watching the course of events, till the 12th August 1289, when he landed at Dover. His return was being loudly called for. At a Parliament held in February, John Kirkby, now Bishop of Ely and Treasurer, had ventured to ask for a Subsidy, no grant having been made since the Thirtieth for the Welsh war in 1283. The Earl of Gloucester, "now betrothed to the King's daughter", declared

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 361; Bliss, I. 509.

in the name of the barons that they would give nothing till they saw their King face to face. But the King's need was very real. On the day of his landing he acknowledges owing the Ricardi of Lucca £380,609 5s. 6d. 'of black money of Tours' (£95,154 3s. 10½d.), besides £12,632 19s. 6d. sterling paid into the Wardrobe, and he pledges the revenues of Gascony for the same.<sup>1</sup>

In the King's absence the Government could not be otherwise than weak. The military gentry had been indulging in tournaments, leading at times to dangerous riots. The frequent occurrence of these encounters, forbidden by the Church and by most previous kings of England, is a remarkable circumstance, clearly due to the King's countenance and patronage. With such encouragement to mock warfare it is not surprising to hear that the Government had to warn the great earls of the illegality of riding through the country in arms, or privately settling disputes by the arbitrament of the sword. Another affair that was pressed on the King's immediate attention was the alleged misconduct of the Judges. In this matter "the absence of the Chancellor, Robert Burrell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had been even more mischievous than that of his master".<sup>2</sup>

For the revenue both the Pells are wanting. But of late years, between them they have so regularly averaged £21,000 that we can fairly allow that sum. The Wardrobe Account is forthcoming. The receipts for this year and the next are thrown together to the sum of £125,900; giving £62,950 for the several years.

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer (Pells), say . . . . .	21,000	0	0
Wardrobe (share of two years' aggregate account)	62,950	0	0
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	83,950	0	0
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<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 161, 162; Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 365, 366; Stubbs.

## 18 EDWARD I

1289-1290. On the 12th October 1289 the King and Queen, who had landed two months before, entered London. On the very next day proclamation was made that all who had any complaints to make of the conduct of the King's officers during his absence should forthwith lay the same before a special Commission appointed to sit in London. As the result of their investigations, Thomas of Weyland, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was presented by a jury on a charge of having instigated a murder and sheltered the perpetrator. Forced to take sanctuary, he was starved out, and driven to abjure the realm. All his property, real and personal, valued at 100,000 marks (£66,666 13s. 4d.), was confiscated to the Crown, a whole bench of judges were also removed and amerced, the King evidently making the most of his opportunity. Ralph of Hengham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was dismissed and amerced 2,000 marks on a charge of having falsified an entry and lowered a fine out of pity. Eleven other Justices and officials of the Exchequer suffered fines varying from 1,000 marks to 4,000 marks each, one man, Adam of Stratton, being subjected to entire forfeiture. The amazing hoard of £12,650 was found in his house.<sup>1</sup>

The twelvemonth proved one of eventful interest. On the 30th April (1290) the King's second surviving daughter, Jeanne or Joan of Acre, was married to the Earl of Gloucester (Gilbert II of Clare). She was not Edward's eldest daughter, but the first to be married, and so he thought himself fairly entitled to call for the Aid *pur fille marier*. At the proper rate of £1 the King could levy the Aid of his own authority, but as he proposed to raise the rate, the barons would have to be consulted. On the 29th May Edward announced that the Aid had been granted at 40s. the knight's fee. It might raise £2,000. But Edward wanted a more general contribution. He suspended the collection of the Aid, and issued writs for another Parliament to meet on the 15th July at Westminster. The Aid in fact was not raised till 1302.<sup>2</sup>

To the May Parliament which granted the Aid, opened on the

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 366, 367.

<sup>2</sup> Select Charters, 465.

22nd of the month, must also be ascribed the framing of the celebrated Statute known from its opening words as *Quia Emptores*. Till then the rights of disposition enjoyed by land-owners were involved in some uncertainty; but any alienation that did take place was for the most part effected by 'subinfeudation', the alienee taking the land to be holden of the alienor as his immediate superior. The Statute abolishes subinfeudation, but recognizes the free right of alienation of land, to the full extent of the vendor's interest therein, the feoffee to hold, not of the vendor, but of the lord of whom the vendor held. This Act known as the Statute of Westminster the Third, and the cognate Statute of *De Donis*, represent the most enduring monuments of Edward's legislative work. *Quia Emptores* was apparently given to the public on the 8th July, when all the chivalry of England had been summoned to London to assist at another Royal wedding, namely, that celebrated that day between the King's third daughter Marguerite and John son of John I, Duke of Brabant.

The Parliament of the 15 July, apparently, could not be brought to the desired point all at once, and London would be getting hot and uncomfortable, and so the session was adjourned to meet about the 15th September at Clipstone, in the Sherwood Forest, pleasant summer quarters.<sup>1</sup>

To allay the irritation caused by the *Quo Warranto* proceedings and conciliate popularity, Edward now issued an edict requiring all Jews to leave the country by the 1st November. He had already expelled them from his foreign possessions, namely, in 1288, as a complementary act of devotion when he took the Cross for the second time. John and Henry III had treated the Jews as Royal game, to be fattened and killed in due course. Edward, like Richard, treated them as mere enemies of the Cross. Edward, no doubt, was as deeply interested in the conversion of the Jews as his father had been. But the work made no progress, naturally, because 'by law and custom' all the goods of a converted Jew were forfeit to the King. It was doubtless for resistance to his efforts for their conversion that in May 1287, by Edward's orders, he being abroad, all the Jews

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 368, 369; Foss, Judges, III. 40-43; and State Trials Ed. I. (Camden Society).



were arrested and only liberated on payment of a collective fine of 20,000 marks (£13,333 6s. 8d.). The final order was understood to have been given at the instance of the Queen Mother, a persistent enemy of the Jewish persuasion.

The spirits of the nation having been exhilarated by the prospect of riddance from the hated Jews (so all the chroniclers), liberal grants were obtained from the Clipstone Parliament. The higher clergy granted a Fifteenth of their temporalities, and the barons the same for themselves and the general community; the lower clergy in Provincial Synods granted Tenths. Within the next three years these grants brought in the prodigious sum of £116,603; we are told that the tax was exacted with great severity. In fact we shall find it charged on estates in Wales, Ireland, and the Palatinate of Chester, apparently all innovations, and paid under protest.<sup>1</sup> The Fifteenth of 1226 yielded only £57,838; and that of 1275 just £81,201 13s. 9d.

A fateful death of the year must not be overlooked. In September little Margaret of Norway, sole surviving descendant of Alexander III of Scotland, and heiress of his throne, died on her way to England to be married to Edward's son. The question of the Scottish succession, thus suddenly opened up, fell on the world like a clap of thunder.

For our revenue the judicial penalties, eked out by loans,<sup>2</sup> present a very handsome total without any general tax, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	24,637	8	7
Wardrobe	62,950	0	0
	<hr/>		
	87,587	8	7

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 502, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Power to the Bishop of Durham to raise 4,000-5,000 marks; £1,000 and 500 marks borrowed from Italian merchants; Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 334, 385.

## 19 EDWARD

1290-1291. The death of the 'Maid of Norway', as she was called, introduced a crisis that was destined to affect the relations of England and Scotland for three hundred years. In anticipation of her marriage with young Edward, the Scots had been careful to stipulate beforehand for guarantees for the national independence. After prolonged negotiations, on the 18th July 1290, a treaty had been sealed at Brigham, near Berwick, on behalf both of Edward and of the Scottish people. It provided that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland should remain entire and inviolate; the Kingdom of Scotland to remain separate from England, free from all subjection. Failing Margaret and Edward and their issue, the Kingdom of Scotland to revert to the nearest heirs, free and intact from any subjection to the King of England, if peradventure by any chance it should have fallen into his hands. The document concluded with the proviso that the rights of the two kingdoms or their respective kings should not be in any way diminished or enlarged by the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

The rule as to succession as between claimants by representation and claimants by nearness of blood was by no means settled; and so, the throne being vacant, a crowd of competitors came forward. But the question really lay between two men, John Balliol II of Castle Barnard, and Robert Bruce II Lord of Annandale in Scotland and Guiseborough in Cleveland. Both were men of double allegiance owning lands both in England and Scotland under the friendly relations of the era of 'The Peace'.<sup>2</sup> Balliol claimed as heir of David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Alexander II; Bruce claimed as being one degree nearer in blood to the same ancestor.<sup>3</sup> Edward lost no time in proclaiming that he purposed to sit as arbiter between the aspirants to the Scottish Crown, inviting them to meet him on the 3rd May 1291 at Norham on the English side of the Tweed. On the 10th May a fairly representative Parliament or Convention of Scottish Estates met Edward and his prelates and barons

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 376, 377; Foedera, I. 737. For fullest details see J. Hill Burton, Hist. of Scotland, II, the best part of his work.

<sup>2</sup> See above, I. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 380, 381.

in the parish church at Norham. The proceedings were opened by Roger le Brabazon, Puisne Judge of the King's Bench, in a set speech in French, requesting the Scots to recognize in Edward the right of deciding the question of the succession to their Crown, as being the over-lord of Scotland (*Dominus supremus, Dominus superior*). With that he produced documentary evidence as to the previous acts of homage rendered by Scottish Kings. We may point out that no King of England had ever arrogated the style of Lord Superior of Scotland; and that the overlordship of Scotland, even if it had been recognized, would not have given Edward any right of interfering with the succession.

At no time had any interference in the domestic affairs of Scotland been attempted, except by Rufus; a tacit compromise appearing to rule the subject. In 1251 Henry III asked Alexander III to do formal homage for the Scottish Crown, but the demand was rejected. In 1278, on the last occasion when homage was done, Edward distinctly admitted that the recognition was not rendered for the Crown of Scotland, by reserving a right to call for such homage at some future period.<sup>1</sup>

Three weeks were allowed the Scots to consider Edward's pretensions; but no effectual protest was entered. No claimant could afford to put himself out of court with the arbiter, while the other barons were all marshalled behind one or other of the competitors.

On the 2nd June sittings were resumed at Upsetlington on the Scottish side of the Border; and Robert Burnet the Chancellor took from each of the claimants an agreement, in a set form of words, pledging him to stand before the King of England in the matter of his petition as over-lord of Scotland, and to abide by his decision. Next day in the parish church at Norham Edward installed himself in his new position, assuring all present, in the style of a voluntary coronation oath, that he would maintain peace and justice in Scotland, and observe all the good and approved customs of the realm.<sup>2</sup>

The question of the composition of a Court of Arbitration to examine the several cases of the pretenders was then taken up. That having been arranged, the King took from the competitors

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 383, 384 and references there.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 384, 385.

an agreement for placing him in possession of 'all the land and castles' of Scotland, under 'good and sufficient surety' for their restitution to the successful candidate. The 2nd August was then named for the preliminary hearing of the cause at Berwick.

A progress through Scotland followed, to enable Edward to install Englishmen as constables of the castles, and to exact oaths of fealty from 'all persons, clerical or lay, who would have been bound to render such an oath to a King of Scotland'.<sup>1</sup>

On the 3rd August the judicial hearing of the Great Cause was opened at Berwick, in the presence of the King, the Arbitrators, and a general audience. By the 12th Edward thought that, for the time, he had heard enough, and adjourned the proceedings to the 2nd June 1292.

He must have felt well pleased with the work of the summer. The conquest of Scotland was half achieved. But in another quarter he had scored an equally notable success, having obtained from Nicholas not only a confirmation of the extra six years' Tenth—of course, under the usual conditions<sup>2</sup>—but also orders for a new and more stringent assessment of clerical property, to include both spirituals and temporals, and so to be greatly in excess of the Norwich valuation.<sup>3</sup> The new assessment came in round numbers to £210,000 and the Tenth to £20,000 a year; namely, £16,000 from Canterbury and £4,000 from York.<sup>4</sup> With respect to the scope of the recent Papal grants, on the 14th October (1290) Edward explains them as including all arrears *plus* the proceeds of six more years to come. He will certainly go when a general 'passage' is fixed, if no valid impediment should interfere.<sup>5</sup>

With the Fifteenths and Tenth flowing in we get a handsome revenue:

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer (Pells) . . . . .	49,191	15	1
Wardrobe . . . . .	9,834	8	7
	<hr/>		
	59,026	3	8
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 386-388; Foedera, I. 772, 773; Bain, Calendar of Documents, II. 124.

<sup>2</sup> 10th January and 17th May 1290; Bliss, I. 509, 527.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 509, 527.

<sup>4</sup> See Table compiled by Bishop Stubbs from the *Taxatio* itself; Const. Hist. II. 581.

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, I. 741.

## 20 EDWARD I

1291-1292. On the 2nd June 1292 the hearing of the Great Cause was resumed at Berwick. The petitions and pleadings of all the claimants having been read, the King desired the Arbitrators to direct their attention in the first instance to the case as it stood between Balliol and Bruce. This preliminary judgment practically determined that the Crown must belong to the descendants of David Earl of Huntingdon. The King then proceeded to request the Arbitrators to advise him by what laws and customs the right of succession should be determined. They begged for time to answer on a case so arduous and unprecedented. Edward assented, and gave them to the 24th October to give in their finding. When the day came elaborate opinions were delivered, there being, in fact, little room for doubt, as it came out clearly that there was no difference between the laws and customs of Scotland and those of England in the matter; that the rule of succession to the Crown was the same as to other fiefs; and that in either case the progeny of an elder must be exhausted before that of a younger sister could have any claim. In conformity with this ruling, on the 9th November, provisional judgment in favour of Balliol was formally uttered. But the case had yet to be argued as between him and the preposterous claim of some who maintained that the Crown was partible. At last, on Monday, 17th November, the Great Cause was brought to an end, in the hall of the castle at Berwick. Roger le Brabazon read the King's judgment. The Kingdom of Scotland was not divisible; Balliol, as the heir-at-law of Margaret of Norway, was entitled to succeed.

Two days later Edward issued a writ to the Guardians of Scotland ordering them to deliver seisin of the realm to John Balliol, saving all rights of the Lord Superior. On the same day the constables of the castles placed in Edward's hands were required to surrender their charges to Balliol.

Finally, on the 20th November Balliol took the oath of fealty at Norham.<sup>1</sup>

Last year we noted Edward's diplomatic skill in having obtained from the Papacy not only a fresh grant of Tenthms but

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 390-395.



also an enhanced assessment for the levy of future Tenths. These Crusade Tenths were always granted under condition of being refunded if the King should fail to sail for Palestine. This year we find him getting from Nicholas IV a "quittance" or remission of the obligation with regard to 100,000 marks (£66,666 13s. 4d.) stated as the yield of six years of Tenths that had been granted by Martin IV and Honorius IV.<sup>1</sup> Honorius, as we have seen, had ultimately granted Tenths for three more years. Here, at any rate, we get a clear statement of the yield of the Tenth under the Norwich valuation as amounting in round numbers to £11,000.

A monstrous assignment, an assignment in blank, is that of the 6th March 1292, under which the Ricardi are given an order on the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer of Dublin for 'all issues of the King's demesne lands, rents, customs of wool and hides, Wardships, pleas, perquisites, fines, amercements, and other issues of the land of Ireland'.<sup>2</sup>

A signal instance of the wanton remission of *servitium debitum*, to which the falling off of the scutages and feudal Aids was due, may here be noticed. On a resettlement of the vast Lancaster appanage bestowed on the King's brother Edmund, the service of only three knight's fees is all that is reserved.<sup>3</sup>

The year's revenue, as well as that of the two preceding years, is swelled by contributions from the Fifteenths and Tenths of the 18th year, of which special accounts are given.

		£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	. . . . .	80,213	11	3
Wardrobe	. . . . .	3,154	0	10½
		<hr/>		
		83,367	12	1½
		<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> The quittance is dated Berwick, 13th June 1291; Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, II. 462, 479.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 477; 2nd February 1292.

## 21 EDWARD I

1292-1293. Edward soon made it clear that he was prepared to treat Scottish nationality even more summarily than he had ventured to treat Welsh nationality. The Treaty of Brigham stipulated that no Scotsman should be cited as a litigant to England. Before Balliol had reigned a month (December 1292), a Scottish litigant, dissatisfied with the finding of the native court, entered an appeal to the King of England. King John protested, appealing to the treaty. Roger le Brabazon was instructed to say that though the King had submitted to be bound by certain promises, made for a time, and while the throne of Scotland was vacant, now that a King had been appointed he did not intend to be hampered by those promises for the future; and that he was determined to hear appeals, or any other question, properly brought before him from Scotland. To emphasize his purpose Edward sent for Balliol's advisors, and, addressing them in French, warned them that he should cite the King of Scotland to appear in England as and when he might think fit.

With a mind so fully made up, Edward seems to have felt that it would be a mistake to leave on record an agreement by which he had specially engaged that no Scotsman should be cited as a litigant to England. On the next day but one (2nd January 1293) Balliol, for himself, his heirs, and all others in any way interested in the matter, cancelled the treaty of 18th July 1290, releasing Edward and his heirs from every 'article, concession, or promise' therein contained.<sup>1</sup> By this weak concession King John sealed his own doom. The liability of being summoned to London on appeals from the Scottish courts was a hardship to which the Scots could not possibly submit.<sup>2</sup>

The "Toom (empty) Tabard" as the Scots wittily styled their King,<sup>3</sup> went back to the North to rule for a few months, 'as a lamb among wolves'. His first Parliament (February 1293) was harassed by a fresh legal difficulty arising out of a disputed claim to lands connected with the earldom of Fife. About the

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, I. 783, 784.

<sup>2</sup> Hume Brown, Hist. Scot. I. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 396, 397.

same time a Gascon merchant called for justice in respect of money alleged to be due to him by Alexander III. Balliol was summoned to appear by the 25th March to meet both appeals. He failed to appear, and thereupon a fresh citation was issued, requiring him to present himself within fifteen days after Michaelmas.<sup>1</sup>

With so much appellate business in prospect, Edward thought it well to draw up special Standing Orders for the regulation of Scottish appeals. They make the King of Scotland a party to every suit brought under review; they require his attendance to justify the proceedings of the inferior court. Only in certain cases would he be allowed to appear by attorney.<sup>2</sup>

The Pells still show considerable returns from the Fifteenths. Of the yield of the Papal Crusade Tenths, strange to say, we never hear. A grant of £10,000 to Edmund to be invested in the purchase of a fifth of Ponthieu, may be noticed.

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	61,751	17	8
Wardrobe, Do.	12,164	4	5½
	73,916	2	1½

## 22 EDWARD I

1293-1294. In the face of the Standing Orders Balliol did not venture to ignore the summons. In the latter part of October (1293) he duly appeared at Westminster. But he stoutly refused to consider the appeals without the advice of the good men of his kingdom. The Court went the length of intimating that by refusing to plead he had been guilty of contempt of Court. Ultimately he was induced to ask for an adjournment, to consult his people. Edward named the 14th June (1294) for the adjourned hearing, Balliol in the meantime being required once more to do homage for the Kingdom of Scotland. But the adjourned meeting was not to be, as we shall find.<sup>3</sup>

While Edward was endeavouring to adjust the relations of the Crown of Scotland to that of England by applying the rules of feudal land law to international politics, an astute neighbour

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 399.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 399, 400 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 400-401.

had been taking a hint for the guidance of his own policy. During the reign, so far, the relations of France and England had been kept on a satisfactory footing by Edward's care. But the watery ways have seldom been ways of peace. Squabbles between seamen, and privateering outrages between English and Gascons on the one side, and French and Flemings on the other side, ended in a regular action in which thirty French prizes were taken into Yarmouth alone (April 1293). Philip began by calling for restitution and damages, and the surrender of guilty Gascons. He then cited Edward to appear before his Court in Paris. The summons not having been attended to, the Constable of France was instructed to sequester Aquitaine for contempt of Court. The mandate being resisted, Edward was once more cited, with every formality, to appear within twenty days after Christmas (1293).

To procure a withdrawal of the citation, the Earl of Lancaster was sent over, with instructions to make considerable sacrifices for the sake of a settlement. As the husband of Blanche of Artois, mother of Johanne the Queen of France, Edmund seemed specially suited to act as negotiator. But Queen Johanne and Marie the widow of Philip III took the Earl in hand, and prevailed on him to agree, on the strength of a secret treaty, to a formal surrender of Gascony for forty days ; the Province to be restored, and the citation recalled, at the end of the time. Edward's consent having been obtained (1 January 1294), Bordeaux was handed over, and fealty sworn to the French Constable on behalf of his master. The forty days elapsing, Lancaster began to remind the Queens of their engagements. For a while the deception was kept up ; at last he was frankly told that the King of France would yield nothing, and that it would be useless to pester him.<sup>1</sup>

War, bitter war was now irresistible. On the 6th June (1294) a Grand Council was held to arrange plans. General willingness to vote money was evinced. But the difficulty was that an Eleventh and Sixth granted in 1293 was still running. In fact the orders for its collection in Ireland, and some other parts of the kingdom, had only just been issued.<sup>2</sup> A scutage at the extra rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  marks (30s.) the knight's fee was voted. But the money could not be raised till an expeditionary force was

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 401-406.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 21 Edward.

called out. For an immediate supply the Council gave its sanction to the seizure of all the wool at the seaports. The unfortunate merchants, however, were allowed to ransom their property on payment of half its value, namely £3 6s. 8d. the sack of superior wool, and £2 the sack of common wool.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the agreement with the merchants may have been effected in an assembly of merchants, such meetings becoming more and more common.<sup>2</sup>

On the 14th June the King called out some 200 military tenants to meet at Portsmouth on the 1st September; the scutage from ecclesiastics and others not serving in person, being accompanied by crushing fines *ne transfretent*.<sup>3</sup>

For the recovery of Gascony the King looked to a general coalition of the western Courts of Europe against France, similar to that arranged by John in 1214. Agents were accredited to Nassau, Aragon, Castile, Holland, and the Archbishop of Cologne. In John II, now Duke of Brabant, and Henry III Count of Bar, Edward had sons-in-law ready to help him.<sup>4</sup> £22,000 were delivered to the Duke of Brabant to be expended in raising mercenaries in Savoy and Burgundy.<sup>5</sup>

For further sums needed to cement these alliances Edward proceeded to lay sacrilegious hands on the ready money of the clergy, 'borrowing' all treasure to be found in the sacristies of the monasteries, hospitals, and collegiate churches. The proceeding was politely termed a "*scrutinium*" or Inventory. Under this head a sum of £10,795 16s. 4d. is entered on the Receipt Roll of the Easter term, as a loan.

But much more was still needed. Not content with having seized all the ready money of the clergy, Edward now proposed to make heavy demands on their incoming revenues. The estates of all Houses dependent on foreign Chapters (Priories Alien) were taken into hand, the clergy being put upon bare pittances. This was a novel source of income, but one destined to become permanent. Writs were issued summoning

<sup>1</sup> See Rogers, Prices, &c. I. 388. The order is dated 26th July; B. Cotton, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 131.

<sup>3</sup> See the Bury writer, Florence Cont. II. 271, where he seems to say that owing six knight's fees the Abbot had to pay 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.).

<sup>4</sup> Namely, John married to Margaret of Windsor and Henry to the Lady Eleanor.

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, I. 802, 808; Dawn, 406, 408.



the clergy of both Provinces to meet at Westminster, in one assembly, on the 21st September. When the assembly met, the King came forward, and, after apologizing for his recent acts under the plea of necessity, asked for a Subsidy. On the third day the clergy offered two Tenths for one year. Edward's answer to this very liberal offer was that they must pay half their entire revenue or be outlawed. The unfortunate clergy were as sheep without a shepherd, having no leaders. Canterbury was vacant, and the Archbishop of York, John le Romaine, was a time-server. The Dean of St. Paul's, William of Montfort, one of the King's creatures, having been charged with an unpalatable message to him, fell down in a fit and died at his feet. An effort was made to bargain for the repeal of the Statute *De Religiosis*, but without success, and the clergy perforce had to bow to the cruel exaction.<sup>1</sup> On the 30th September collectors were appointed to tax the several dioceses, they were instructed to demand "a moiety of benefices and goods according to the taxation whereon the last tenth in aid of Holy Land was granted . . . to be levied on all benefices exceeding the yearly value of 10 marks" (£6 13s. 4d.).<sup>2</sup> In the course of the next three days 'Letters of Protection', say receipts, were issued to all the contributing clergy, apparently supplying us with a Clergy List of the year.<sup>3</sup>

The raising of such a tax as a moiety of the revenues of the clergy would seem incredible, if we had not the clearest evidence that it was paid, and practically paid in full. Moreover, the last Crusade Tenths that we heard of were the three extra years conceded by Honorius in 1287. They would be raised on the Norwich valuation. But we find the moiety being levied on the Taxation of Nicholas, a circumstance that we cannot explain. Anyhow, the assessment for the diocese of Chichester on that footing was £6,804 12s. 4d., the half of which would be £3,402 6s. 2d. and the payment returned is £3,148 7s. 5d., leaving a balance of £255 14s. 7d. for the expenses of collection.

The year's Pells show £30,902 received under different heads for 'Holy Land'; besides the £10,795 of Church plate 'borrowed' as already mentioned. The expeditionary force called out for the 1st September had to be adjourned to the 30th of the

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 408, 409.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 89-95.

month. It encountered storms and was driven back to Portsmouth. Then disquieting reports came in from Wales. The force at Portsmouth was broken up; and the military tenants were required to take their contingents some to Chester, some to Brecon, and some to Carmarthen.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts . . . . .	89,626	18	2
Wardrobe . . . . .	12,413	14	4
	<hr/>		
	102,040	12	6
	<hr/>		

## 23 EDWARD I

1294-1295. Pending an expedition into Wales, the King called for a Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 12th November, to grant further supplies. The laity came more readily to the point than the clergy had done, "and they fared better, they had had their warning". They made an immediate grant of a Tenth of their movables. From the cities and boroughs a Sixth was conceded.

While the King was on the south coast, superintending the equipment of the force for Gascony, the cunning Welsh had risen in Northern and Southern Wales. Once more the English had been caught napping, Carnarvon and other castles were stormed, and much blood shed. Edward would not shrink from the hardships of a winter campaign, even in a time of general dearth and distress. On the 11th December he entered insurgent territory at Wrexham, advancing to Conway, where, detained by want and foul weather, he was fain to remain over April; in May he crossed to Anglesey, where he founded Beaumaris Castle. If Edward's progress was slow it was irresistible. From Bangor to Cardigan, from Glamorgan to Chirk, he traversed the country from end to end. His policy was to avoid slaughter, exact hostages, and clear roads through woods. By the 30th July the last of the leaders had surrendered or been captured.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, operations for the recovery of Gascony were being pressed. About the 10th October (1294) John of Brittany as King's Lieutenant, with John St. John and William le Latimer,

<sup>1</sup> For details see Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 240.

had sailed from Portsmouth, as already mentioned. Before the end of the month they entered the Gironde; Bordeaux was too strong to be attacked, but sundry towns on the Garonne, above and below that city, received them; the population showing themselves on the whole friendly. John of Brittany and Latimer remained at Cadillac to strengthen their hold on Médoc and the Bordelais, while St. John marched off to Bayonne. Early in January city and castle came to terms. At the end of the campaign the English apparently remained masters of Bayonne and the Landes, with some footing on the Gironde both above and below the city of Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup> For all the treasure sent abroad for allied and mercenary support, not the smallest return had been secured.

By the summer of 1295 war with Scotland had become inevitable. A Scottish Parliament held at Stirling on the 7th July took the direction of affairs into its own hands, naming a committee of twelve peers to 'advise' their King in his movements. On the same day Balliol sealed instructions for envoys to negotiate an alliance between his eldest son Edward and Jeanne, daughter of Charles of Valois.<sup>2</sup>

In another quarter, the new Pope Boniface VIII<sup>3</sup> was pressing Edward to make peace with France; and the Cardinals accredited by him obtained authority to conclude a truce to the Feast of All Saints 'if the King of France should desire it'.

Surrounded with difficulties, actual and prospective, Edward rose to the occasion, and resolved to throw himself on the loyalty of his subjects by summoning a more thoroughly representative Parliament than any that England had yet seen. County and borough representatives had been summoned to meet in conjunction more than once. In 1294 representatives of the clergy and shires had been convened, but in different assemblies. The King now for the first time issued writs combining representatives of clergy, shires, and boroughs in one assembly, along with the magnates.

The writs were issued 30th September to 3rd October, but the Parliament was not destined to meet till the 27th November.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 414-416.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Consecrated 2nd January 1296.

<sup>4</sup> Dawn, 417, 419. For comments on the constitution of the Parliaments see Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 133.

For the revenue, the Tenths and Sixths granted in November 1294, eventually yielded £86,307 7s. 10½*d.* But the account was not closed till late in the reign.<sup>1</sup> For the year they contributed £21,391. From the *Scrutinium* (Church plate) a further sum of £1,471 is returned with £1,479 from Crusade Tenths. We must suppose that these proceeds came from the extra three years granted by Honorius in 1287 and confirmed by Nicholas, as we have not heard of any further grant since, and the "quittance" of Boniface showed that Edward had received all his share of the six prior Tenths.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer (Pells) . . . . .	80,657	11	9¾
Wardrobe . . . . .	7,741	6	10
	<hr/>		
	88,398	18	7¾
	<hr/>		

## 24 EDWARD I

1295-1296. The month of October 1295 was one of active preparation for war throughout Europe. On the 22nd and 23rd of the month the fateful Scottish alliance was settled in Paris. On the 27th November the Parliament summoned in September met at last. The barons and knights of the shire gave an Eleventh; the cities and boroughs a Seventh. "With the clergy there were difficulties. The Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>2</sup> offered a Tenth, the King demanded a Third, or at least a Fourth. The Archbishop, however, held out, and the King, after debating the matter for nearly a month, accepted a Tenth."<sup>3</sup>

The year 1296 opened with two military expeditions to be sent out; one to Gascony, and one against Scotland. The former need not detain us. Early in the spring the Earls of Lancaster and Lincoln<sup>4</sup> sailed from Plymouth, and joined their friends in the Gironde. Gascons and other mercenaries joined

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll No. 151; 34 Edward I.

<sup>2</sup> Robert of Winchelsey, elected 13th February 1293 in succession to John of Peckham.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 473; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, III. 172, 212. Again we have a Clergy List of those who paid.

<sup>4</sup> Henry de Lacy sixth Earl of Lincoln.

them; but they were not strong enough to effect anything. On the 13th May Edmund Crouchback succumbed to the fatigues of the campaign; Lincoln succeeded to the command, without doing any better. Bourg, Blaye, and Bayonne seem to be the chief places that we can distinguish as still in the hands of the English. All the time Edward kept pressing for a suspension of hostilities. But Philip the Fair knew better than to give way.<sup>1</sup>

On the 1st March the King and his levies gathered round Newcastle; 200 barons had been called out. Among the lieges who responded to the King's call were Patrick Earl of Dunbar and the March; Gilbert of Umfraville Earl of Angus; and two Bruces, i.e. Robert Bruce VII of Annandale, son of the claimant (who died the year before), accompanied by his son Robert Bruce VIII the future King, now Earl of Carrick in right of his mother who also had passed away. Commissions of array had been issued, and 3,208 men from Ireland were brought over by the Earl of Ulster, for operations in the South and West.<sup>2</sup> For the war chest, £1,000 a week were to be sent from London for provisions for the Household and the army.<sup>3</sup> That might imply 500-800 lances and 10,000 foot-soldiers. But the reader must again be warned that the footmen were only kept on as long as their services were absolutely needed, and that they were perpetually being dismissed, and fresh men called out for short terms. Further difficulty of filling the ranks is shown by the free pardons issued to felons and murderers in consideration of serving in Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

On the 28th March the King crossed the Tweed. Next day he rode up to the gates of Berwick, to parley with the people, and offer terms. They met his overtures with insults and coarse offensive gestures. Next day the paltry palisade and earthworks were stormed and its whole male population put to the sword.

Edward remained at Berwick for nearly a month, fortifying the place. The Earl of Dunbar, as we have seen, was with the King, but the castle of Dunbar, as was commonly the case in those days, had been left in charge of his wife, and she suddenly declared for King John. An army sent to recover the place

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 421-423.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Morris, R. Hist. Soc. VIII. 80 (Third Series).

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 423; Stevenson, Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, II. 20; the money was drawn by the Keeper of the Wardrobe from the Exchequer.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 194-204; a ghastly list.



found itself confronted by a Scottish relieving force coming down from the Lammermuirs. The Scots, with native pugnacity, throwing away the advantage of the ground, deficient in cavalry, and evidently lacking in leaders, fell on the English ranks in tumultuous assault, to be utterly broken and scattered (27th April).<sup>1</sup>

All Scotland now lay at Edward's feet; but he was in no hurry to press onwards. As he came to stay, he was anxious to make sure of the ground as he went. His first steps were taken along the Border, to Kelso and Roxburgh, while the two Bruces were sent off to recover Annandale in Edward's name. On the 6th June he entered Holyrood Abbey; a few days later Edinburgh Castle surrendered. Edward's progress then led him through Linlithgow, Stirling, and Auchterarder to Perth (21 June). There envoys were received from King John suing for peace. He was told that he must apologize for his alliance with the King's enemy of France, in breach of his homage, and make amends by a formal surrender of Scotland with all its people. On the 2nd July Balliol sealed a patent embodying Edward's terms. On the 10th he met Bishop Anthony Beck of Durham at Brechin, and there, divested of all royal ornaments, made to the Bishop on Edward's behalf a formal surrender, by feoffment with the usual rod, of all his, Balliol's, kingdom, with all his rights, lands, and possessions, saving only for himself, life, limb, and personal liberty. On the same day Balliol and his son Edward were taken to Montrose, where Edward's quarters were, and John was made to go through a fresh act of abdication to the King in person. A few days later he was sent to London by sea.<sup>2</sup>

From Montrose Edward held northwards to impress the Highlanders with a sense of his power, just as he had taken care to impress the Border men. Five days he rested in Aberdeen, his Itinerary taking him on to Banff, and thence across the Spey to Elgin. This must have been his turning-point, as we next hear of him at Rothes. Detachments were sent out right and left to search the hills of Badenoch and Aberdeenshire; while he held a central course in Strath Don (near Alford) and by an unfrequented pass, known locally as Cairn-o'-Mount, and so by Kincardine O'Neil into Kincardineshire. A march through Brechin, Arbroath, and Dundee brought his Highland tour to

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 423-428. Battle of Dunbar.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 429-431.

an end at Perth on the 8th August. By the 22nd of the month he had returned to Berwick.

His next step was to hold a Parliament or Grand Council of the nobles and prelates of the two realms treated as one, to obtain of the Scots a national recognition of himself as their King. No representation of classes would be permitted; every fully franchised individual, cleric, baron, landowner, or free burgher, must come forward, swear allegiance, and deliver a bond or "ragman" to attest the fact.<sup>1</sup> Arrangements for the pacification and government of Scotland followed, and then Edward recrossed the Border, satisfied that he had quite settled the Scottish question (16 September).<sup>2</sup>

Of the Elevenths from counties and Sevenths from boroughs granted by the Parliament of 1295 no returns are extant.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer (Pells) . . . . .	45,399	4	3
Wardrobe . . . . .	4,909	15	3½
	<hr/>		
	50,308	19	6½
	<hr/>		

The wages eventually paid for soldiers in Scotland and Gascony came to £21,443 12s.<sup>3</sup>

## 25 EDWARD I

1296-1297. 'Within twenty-one weeks Scotland had been conquered and searched out.' So Edward could boast, but the cost had to be met as well as that of the military operations in Gascony. The struggles over the raising of the taxation demanded led to a crisis in our constitutional history second only to that of *Magna Carta*. On the 3rd November a full Parliament was opened at Bury St. Edmunds, the Scottish baronage being in attendance. The barons and knights of the shire granted a Twelfth, and the burgesses an Eighth. To a request for a Fifth Archbishop Winchelsey answered that a recent Papal

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 433. The celebrated "Ragman Roll" is the enrolment or fair copy of the individual deed, polls or "ragmans", delivered at Berwick on the 25th. August.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson, Documents, II. 25-32. From the original Diary in manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Stevenson, sup. 16; and Wardrobe Accounts.

Bull had absolutely forbidden the clergy to pay any tax whatever to laymen without Papal sanction. Edward gave the Primate to the 13th January (1297) to reconsider his answer. The Bull in question was the celebrated "*Clericis Laicos*", by which Boniface VIII proposed to exalt the powers of the Papacy to a height more domineering than any yet attempted. After eight days of discussion the Convocation of Canterbury found itself unable to grant anything without Papal leave. Thereupon they were at once outlawed by the King.<sup>1</sup> Winchelsey rejoined by excommunicating all who ventured to infringe the Papal decree; and Edward responded by taking the lay fees of the Canterbury clergy with all goods on them into hand. Under like pressure the Northern clergy agreed to a Fifth, not as a tax, but as a fine for redemption from outlawry. Destitute of support either by the Pope or his own clergy, Winchelsey was driven to allow each man 'to save his own soul' by compounding,<sup>2</sup> he himself holding out for more than four months, when the King, with every class estranged, and the whole nation on the verge of revolt, found it expedient to make friends with the Primate,<sup>3</sup> as we shall see.

Meanwhile, affairs in Gascony had gone from bad to worse. Lincoln and St. John had been defeated in a regular action, and the Seneschal taken prisoner. To retrieve matters Edward suggested a double attack on France, one to be undertaken by an army of hired troops, under his own leadership, while the English baronage would be invited to provide and conduct the other army on their own account. Every schoolboy has heard of the ensuing passage at arms between the Marshal and the Constable and the King, and how Bigod and Bohun,<sup>4</sup> having protested that they were not liable for service oversea, except in attendance on the King, were told that they must either 'go or hang'.

Repulsed by the barons the King fell back on the lesser gentry, summoning all persons worth £20 in land to come to London,

<sup>1</sup> See warning to the clergy, 21st March, Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 244.

<sup>2</sup> For letters of protection for clergymen paying Fifths see Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 237, 260, 286, February-March.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 337, 338.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Bigod sixth Earl of Norfolk and Humphrey Bohun eighth Earl of Hereford and Essex.

with horses and arms ready to cross the sea.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile provisions for the expedition to an unheard-of extent were being requisitioned in the counties.<sup>2</sup> All the wool in the kingdom was ordered to certain ports. The composition of £2 on the sack of common wool, introduced in 1294, had ripened into a standing 'subsidy' or sur-tax in addition to the legal 6s. 8d.; lots exceeding five sacks were now seized for the King's use, the owners receiving tallies for repayment—an undertaking not always fully met.

Under these circumstances, with London full of mutinous levies, Edward ordered the restitution of the Canterbury lands (11 July), and three days later was formally reconciled with Winchelsey. A meeting was arranged on a platform outside Westminster Hall. The King made an affecting speech, apologizing for his shortcomings to the nation, but ending with a fresh appeal for money. His assurance in asking for a Subsidy either from the clergy from whom he had just wrung a Fifth, or from the barons, seems amazing. The barons not coming forward, but demanding a cessation of tallages and prises, Edward invited a handful of men of no great position to his chamber, and treating them as a duly constituted Parliament obtained of them the grant of an Eighth from the counties and a Fifth from the towns, and actually issued writs for their collection,<sup>3</sup> admitting, however, that the subsidy had been granted in consideration of a confirmation of the Charters. At the same time he orders the seizure of 8,000 sacks of wool to defray his obligations to the King of Germany and the Duke of Brabant, the owners to receive tallies for repayment out of the proceeds of the Eighth and Fifth.<sup>4</sup>

Following up his speech at Westminster Edward issued an appeal to the nation, protesting that he had never refused to consider any articles that had been laid before him. His 'Aids' had been taken for the defence of the realm; he had confirmed the Charters in consideration of a much needed grant. In answer to this appeal the list of grievances dimly referred to by the King was at last presented in the name of the archbishops,

<sup>1</sup> Irish gentry called out; Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 247, 4th May.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Dawn, 439-442.



bishops, earls, barons, and whole community of the land. The main points complained of were the demand for service oversea, oppressive tallages, prises of goods, and the 40s. *maletote* on wool.

On the question of foreign service Edward had already given way, conceding that no man was bound to serve in Flanders except at the King's cost; and, on those terms, a sufficient force had been raised without difficulty. The King was on his way to the coast when the Articles were presented to him. To the laity he answered that he could say nothing without his Council, who were not all with him. To the clergy he said that he was sorry that they could not give without the leave of the Pope, because he could submit nothing to the Pope. With respect to excommunication they must not venture on such a step under pain of forfeiting all they had to forfeit.<sup>1</sup> On the previous day, apparently, he had issued letters for the collection of a Third of the temporalities of the clergy, tithes and incomings purely spiritual not to be taxed; but a clergyman might compound for everything by paying a fifth of his income.<sup>2</sup>

On the 22nd or 23rd of August Edward sailed, having appointed his son, a boy of twelve years old, to act as Regent in conjunction with Reginald Grey, Justiciar of Chester. The Great Seal he took with him from the hands of John Langton the Chancellor.

Before the King's ship had weighed anchor Bigod and Bohun raised their heads again; the Londoners joined them; the collection of the Eighth was resisted; the forbidden excommunication was fulminated by the Archbishop. It became evident that the people would be satisfied with nothing short of the confirmation and amplification of the Charters. The Regents summoned Parliament; but the Earls brought an imposing force, and insisted upon having the gates of London placed in their hands. On the 10th October young Edward set his seal to the terms dictated by the barons, being a full confirmation of *Magna Carta* according to the re-issue of 1216, the like confirmation of the Forest Charter, together with supplemental Articles, explicitly disclaiming the taking of any 'Aids, burdens, or prises' except by the common consent of the realm. These Articles

<sup>1</sup> On this point see orders; Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 442-444; Stubbs, II. 145.



have been described as standing to *Magna Carta* "in the relation of substance to shadow, of performance to promise".<sup>1</sup>

Among the causes that had compelled the King to listen to the requirements of his subjects was the revolt of Scotland, where the clergy, the lesser gentry, and the middling classes, clinging to independence, had found a leader in William Wallace. The higher baronage, with interests on both sides of the Border, were much less determined in their attitude, but among the first men of position to join the movement were William Douglas, Robert Bruce VIII Earl of Carrick, James the Stewart, and Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow. Edward, intent on his foreign expedition, offered amnesty to all Scotsmen who would serve in Gascony. One result of this move was that the people were urged to utter resistance for fear of being seized and sent abroad. On the 12th September John of Warenne, Earl of Surrey, the English governor, suffered a signal defeat at the hands of Wallace's army at the bridge of Stirling, and had to fly for his life; all the minor castles fell into the hands of the Scots, only Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick remaining in the hands of the English; while the reins of government were assumed by one William Murray and Wallace as 'Leaders of the Army of Scotland', in the name of the only King of Scotland that they could recognize, King John—an exile in captivity.

With respect to the tangled finance of the year—of the Eighth and Fifth demanded by Edward we take no account. Of the Twelfth and Eighth granted by the Bury Parliament in 1296 no return is forthcoming, as if in the constitutional struggles of the year 1297 it had not been collected. If collected, on the strength of the Ninth that we shall find granted in the next year, we might take it at £30,000.

For the clerical Fifth extorted from both Provinces early in the year, a Fifth should be equal to two Tenths, or something less, say £30,000; as the higher the impost the greater the difficulty in getting it paid. It is unfortunate that the records of the extraordinary taxes of the year are wanting, because, whatever estimate we may form of the ordinary revenue, very large sums must be added to the returns shown on the Rolls to make up an

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 148; *Select Charters*, 487.

adequate estimate of the year's revenue, large as it seems. The Wardrobe Accounts include £12,602 for wool sold.<sup>1</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells) . . . . .	81,158	4	0
Wardrobe . . . . .	30,873	0	7½
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	112,031	4	7½
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## 26 EDWARD I

1297-1298. Redress of grievances having been granted, Parliament agreed to a Ninth from counties and towns; the Eighth they would not recognize in any way (October 1297). The question of the clerical grant still remained. But the Pope raised no objection to voluntary offerings for national defence. The Scots had invaded Northumberland. On this plea the Southern Province granted a Tenth and the Northern a Fifth.<sup>2</sup>

On the 27th August Edward had landed at Sluys. But affairs were not running favourably for the recovery of Aquitaine. The German alliance had proved utterly infructuous, while Philip, with a powerful host, was master of all the country up to the line of Ghent and Bruges. On the 9th October an armistice was signed; peace being eventually prolonged to the Epiphany 1299.<sup>3</sup>

On the 14th March 1298 the King landed at Sandwich. His return was marked by two popular measures; one, the appointment of a commission to inquire into all 'prises' taken since the beginning of the war with France; the other, the restoration of the civic franchises of London, suspended since the year 1285. But, naturally, Edward's first attention was given to the repression of the rebellion in Scotland. Military tenants and levies were called out to meet at York in May (1298), and a Parliament was held there, at which a fresh confirmation of the Charters was demanded and conceded. A final tryst was fixed for the 25th June at Roxburgh.

From Roxburgh and Kelso Edward marched up the valley of the Lauder by Fala, past Edinburgh, and on to Kirkliston on the river Almond, near the Forth. The only difficulty with which Edward had had to contend was that of commissariat, the

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 440, note.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 448.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 456, 457; Crockard, 458.

country having been wasted beforehand, and he soon found himself in such distress that he had almost made up his mind to turn homewards. If Wallace could but have kept his bellicose countrymen in hand a few days more the campaign would have come to an end. But the ungovernable pugnacity of the Scot was not to be balked of its fight. To Edward's immense relief the Scots were reported to be at Falkirk, preparing to attack. An immediate advance to meet them was ordered. We cannot go into the details of the action. Wallace was found to be drawn up with his footmen, his main strength, on the slope of a hill. The men were arrayed in a line of four circular closely packed bodies of spearmen, "schiltrums"—the favourite native formation. The archers were aligned between the schiltrums, and the cavalry, a slender force, in the rear. Against cavalry no arrangement could be better; not so against archery. The English cavalry wheeling round the Scottish formation dispersed the weak Scottish horse, and then the archers; after that the English were free to devote their attention to the hapless schiltrums. Decimated by the arrow, they were finally ridden down and dispersed, and the rout was complete.<sup>1</sup>

Edward did not repeat his Highland tour of 1296. For a change he turned to explore the south-western districts, as yet unvisited by him. Traversing the Forest of Selkirk he rested at Ayr; thence making for Annandale and Lochmaben. On the 8th September he rested at Carlisle.

Towards the subjugation of Scotland the campaign had effected nothing.<sup>2</sup> But a perfect horde of amnestied jail-birds, men guilty of robbery and murder, who had been serving in Scotland, was let loose on England. Whole membranes of the Patent Roll are filled with their pardons.

A wretched financial expedient, to which Edward had stooped while abroad, was the issuing of licences to Flemish merchants to manufacture spurious coin for circulation in England.<sup>3</sup> The King had renounced the taking of "prises", but the 'buying' of wool on credit was not supposed to have been disclaimed;

<sup>1</sup> 22nd July. Dawn, 450-464.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 465. Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 290, 292, suggests 1,200 cavalry including the mounted constables of the infantry as the total in the King's pay, adding another 1,100 for the contingents of the military tenants, but not all necessarily at Falkirk.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 458.

the Patent Roll records large 'acknowledgements of indebtedness' given to individuals for wool bought.<sup>1</sup>

The Ninth granted by Parliament produced £34,679 6s. 10½d. For the Canterbury Tenth we may allow £12,000 and for the York Fifth £6,000. But the Michaelmas Pell and the Wardrobe Accounts of the year are both wanting; in a time of such abnormal financial conditions we cannot venture on a definite estimate of the year's revenue. It would reach £50,000 at the least.

Revenue wanting.

## 27 EDWARD I

1298-1299. Forest grievances, negotiations for peace with France, and the King's remarriage were the salient events of the year.

In 1290 Edward had lost his popular and well-beloved wife Eleanor of Castile.

Forest grievances had figured prominently among the complaints of the barons. The demand especially pressed, the disafforestation of the Forests created by Richard and John, had been conceded by the Forest Charter and by every subsequent confirmation thereof. Yet the Royal promises on the subject remained unfulfilled.

An arbitration between France and England had been submitted to the Pope, not as Benedict VIII, but as plain "Benedetto Gaetani". The basis of peace suggested by him was a double matrimonial alliance; Edward to marry Marguerite the sister of the French King; and the younger Edward to marry Isabelle the daughter of France.

The proposed alliance was laid before a Grand Council or Parliament of magnates held on the 8th March 1299. To the peace a joyful assent was given; but a perambulation of the Forests was demanded. Edward offered an obstinate resistance, playing a very shifty game. He reconfirmed the Forest Charter, but only reserving Crown rights; and issued an order for the perambulations (*La Purallée*) but again clogged with conditions. At last under popular pressure he confirmed the Charter without reservation, and appointed a Commission to carry out the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 321, 322.

perambulations, but without instructions. The people's misgivings, therefore, as to the King's intentions were by no means dispelled.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope had required the anti-French alliance between England and Flanders to be dropped; Edward agreed to that, but Philip pressed for the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty. That could not be conceded. The difficulty was solved by the delivery of Balliol to the Pope. On the 19th June a treaty of peace was sealed at Montreuil; Edward to marry Marguerite forthwith; his son would undertake to marry "Madame Isabelle" as soon as she was of age; Gascony to be divided on the basis of the *status quo*. On the 14th July Edward ratified the treaty. Four days later "John Balliol, sometime King of Scotland", was delivered to the Bishop of Vicenza, the Papal plenipotentiary, at Wissant, under the express condition that the Supreme Pontiff should utter no decree affecting Balliol or his rights in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

On the 3rd September Marguerite of France landed at Dover, and next day was married to the King by Archbishop Winchelsey.<sup>3</sup>

These affairs had necessarily involved successive adjournments of an expedition to Scotland, originally fixed for Whitsuntide. The muster was finally appointed to meet at Berwick on the 13th December.<sup>4</sup>

The year passed without any special grant; but we have ample evidence of the straits to which for the want of one the Government was reduced. All incomings are anticipated. The Escheator south of the Trent is directed to raise £1,915 from the sale of Wardships and Marriages to meet a debt due to the King's son-in-law Henry Count of Bar.<sup>5</sup> To the same favoured individual are assigned 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) due to the King by Charles II King of Naples for a loan made to him as Prince of Salerno.<sup>6</sup> Another 10,000 marks, being the fine due by the Londoners for the recent restoration of their civic franchises, goes to Italian merchants.<sup>7</sup> Again, the whole farm and issues of London and Middlesex are made over to the Mayor and

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 467, 468. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 469.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 470. For the assignment of her dower see Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 451.

<sup>4</sup> Dawn, 470. <sup>5</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 399.

<sup>6</sup> Id. 409.

<sup>7</sup> Id. 412.



citizens for settlement of £1,049 13s. 11d. due to Gascons. Then the men of Bayonne have a charge on the customs of wool for £2,000 due to them by John of Brittany and the Earl of Lacy.<sup>1</sup> Edmund Earl of Cornwall (younger son of the King of the Romans) is to have the proceeds of all Sees to fall vacant till he has been recouped 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s. 8d.) advanced to the King;<sup>2</sup> while the issues of Ely, actually vacant, are made over to John of Brittany for 2,000 marks left owing by him in Gascony.<sup>3</sup> Another sum of £2,000, due somehow to the King by the Prior and Convent of Lewes, are given to the insatiable men of Bayonne for King's debts.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, for the Wardrobe and the expenses of the Household £11,000 have to be borrowed of the Frescobaldi, on the security of the revenues of Ireland saving the Customs already pledged.<sup>5</sup> The Wardrobe Accounts are wanting, but we can allow £11,000 at any rate.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells) . . . . .	33,915	8	6½
Wardrobe, say . . . . .	11,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	44,915	8	6½
	<hr/>		

## 28 EDWARD I

1299-1300. The expedition to Scotland originally fixed for Whitsuntide was finally adjourned to the 13th December (1299). True to time Edward appeared at Berwick. He was bound to be up and doing because every one was against him. Boniface and Philip were perpetually at him on behalf of the Scots. Not a step had yet been taken towards carrying out the promised Forest reforms. Under the circumstances the barons found the difficulties of a winter campaign in Scotland insuperable. The English garrison at Stirling was allowed to capitulate; and Edward, again bowing to necessity, issued writs for a Parliament to meet at Westminster in March 1300. At the same time a fresh general muster was ordered for the 24th of June following, to meet at Carlisle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 431.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 435.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 437, 438.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 449.

<sup>6</sup> Dawn, 470, 471.

In the Parliament of 1300 the constitutional grievances again came to the front. The King held out for several days, but his reluctance yielded to the determination of his subjects, and the 'promise' of a modest Twentieth made by the laity. The Charters were again confirmed; the Articles of 1297 were not re-enacted, but, a fortnight later, a fresh series of Articles, *Articuli super Cartas*, were passed, appointing commissioners to investigate all cases of infringement of the Charters. Regulations were also given for restricting the abuses of Purveyance (prises) and those of the jurisdictions of the Steward, the Marshal, and the Constable of Dover Castle. With regard to 'prises', the complaint was that the Royal purveyors took goods for nothing, or below their value. The concession runs 'Henceforth no man to take prises but the purveyors for the King's hostel, and they to take no more than is actually needed for King, his hostel, and his children'.<sup>1</sup> Here the vital question of payment is shirked. A distinct success, however, was scored by obtaining at last the actual issue of perambulation commissions. Another reform, and one affecting all classes of the community, was the recall of the "crockards" and "pollards", the debased currency issued by the King for the liquidation of the debts incurred by him in Flanders. But again the King sought to indemnify himself by lowering the standard of the legitimate currency, as we shall see.<sup>2</sup>

At Midsummer the King met his men at Carlisle. The Muster Roll of the Household is extant.<sup>3</sup> Nineteen bannerets produced 243 lances, an average of thirteen to each banner. Minor contingents from various quarters made up a total of 512. For infantry apparently 3,865 men were called to meet at Carlisle.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Morris would raise the total of cavalry to 2,000, *sed quare*? The campaign resolved itself into an armed progress through the wilds of Galloway, as yet unvisited by Edward. Crossing the Solway he sat down before Caerlaverock Castle; at the end of a week the garrison capitulated on terms (9-15 July). From Caerlaverock and Dumfries the King advanced to Kirkcudbright, meeting no enemy, but encountering every other kind of difficulty. Rain fell incessantly. The cavalry could not act; and

<sup>1</sup> Statutes, I. 136-141.

<sup>3</sup> Exchequer Accounts, <sup>a</sup>/<sub>26</sub>, cited Morris, 301.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 471, 472.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

the infantry would not act, the men deserting in masses after drawing pay on account. From the banks of the Dee Edward advanced to Wigton, his turning-point (16 August). Next day he moved homewards, keeping to the coast-line. Utterly fruitless the campaign had proved to be, the strength and spirit of the Scots condemning the King to the duty of keeping guard on the Border in person. Yielding to Philip's instances, Edward consented to sign a truce to last till Whitsunday (21 May) 1301 (30 October).<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, a Papal allocation on Scottish affairs had been issued by Boniface and delivered to Winchelsey, to be laid before the King. For nearly six weeks the Archbishop waited on the Border, unable to reach the King. At last he found him at Sweetheart Abbey, otherwise New Abbey, near Caerlaverock. Edward gave him a very rough reception; but, cooling down, said that he would consult his barons, and then give his answer.

In pursuance of this undertaking writs were shortly issued for a Parliament to meet at Lincoln on the 20th January 1301.

This year, as already intimated, we have to record the first debasement of the currency. Hitherto the £1 sterling was equal to 1 lb. of silver, consisting of 240 pennies, each containing  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains Troy of silver, and so making up the Tower pound of 5,400 Troy grains.<sup>2</sup>

The silver penny is now reduced to  $22\frac{1}{4}$  grains, so that the £1 sterling will now contain only 5,280 grains of silver, a reduction of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.<sup>3</sup> The necessary re-coining would yield a handsome bonus for the revenue, as we have seen.

The lay Twentieth promised in the March Parliament was never granted or levied. The returned revenue is one of the lowest of the reign, and the Government had difficulty in meeting the debts incurred in Gascony by the Earl of Lincoln. For this purpose £1,753 os. 8d., £926 11s. 6d., and £1,680 are borrowed of the Frescobaldi; the money due to the King from the Prior and Convent of Lewes, of which we heard last year, has been

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 473, 474. Two hundred and forty-five outlaws, mostly homicides received pardon for service; Cal. Pat. Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 199 (third edition). See also Ruding, I. 202.

<sup>3</sup> The order for the new currency was apparently issued in March; Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 504.

duly paid to Gascons and so the monks are clear ; while lastly, 2,850 marks are borrowed from sundry Italian firms for the purposes of the re-coinage.<sup>1</sup> The yield of scutages had fallen, owing to the lavish remissions of service. Edmund, the King's brother, was only required to answer for three knight's fees, as we have seen. But the tax could still count for something, at any rate in special cases. The King's kinsman the Earl of Cornwall having failed to appear at Carlisle was fined 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) for the service due by him.<sup>2</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	37,398	13	4
Wardrobe	9,106	16	2
	<hr/>		
	46,505	9	6
	<hr/>		

## 29 EDWARD I

1300-1301. The Parliament summoned for the 20th January 1301 proved one "of considerable historical importance". In spite of promises and confirmations the King had not yielded, nor made up his mind to yield, on the question of Forest reform. His subjects were determined that he should yield. Then the question of Ministerial responsibility was brought up, for the first time in the reign. To a demand for the removal of the Treasurer, Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester and Coventry, he asked—as Henry III in like circumstances had asked—which of them would submit to have his servants changed against his will? With respect to the disafforestments he pleaded regard for his coronation oath, and the rights of the Crown. Having appointed Triers of Petitions to advise him, twelve 'Points' were laid before him, requiring full confirmation of both Charters, and the abolition of 'tortious purveyance', defined as taking of goods 'without payment or consent'.<sup>3</sup> The immediate prosecution of the perambulations, and consequent disafforestments were also demanded. If all these things were done before Michaelmas, the people would grant a Fifteenth instead of the Twentieth promised in the previous year. But the goods of the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 482, 486, 489, 505, 508.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 510.

<sup>3</sup> "Saunz gre ou paie fere", Parliamentary writs.

clergy must not be laid under contribution without the leave of the Pope. To the last stipulation the King refused his assent, giving in to the other demands with certain reservations.<sup>1</sup> Apparently a clerical Tenth was granted.<sup>2</sup>

To the Pope's amazing claim of interference in the Scottish question a most outspoken answer was given by the nation. On the 12th February a memorable protest was drawn up, bearing the seals of seven earls and ninety-seven greater barons. It was matter of notoriety, they said, that the Kings of England had enjoyed both the superior and the direct over-lordship of the Kingdom of Scotland from all time. No temporal rights over Scotland had ever at any rate appertained to the Church of Rome. No King of Scotland had ever answered, or ought to have answered, before any tribunal, ecclesiastical or civil, for any of his temporal rights; any submission of the kind the barons would feel bound to resist.

But the protest was too outspoken. With the arbitration between himself and France still pending, Edward could not afford to quarrel with the Pope. The barons' letter was never sent.<sup>3</sup>

The truce granted to the Scots expiring on the 21st May (1301), hostilities might be resumed at any time after that day. In the first week of July the forces of England were once more mustered at Berwick, for an invasion of Scotland. No facts with regard to the course of the campaign are forthcoming, the Scots still avoiding action. But felons and outlaws still swell the ranks of the King's army, and apparently in increasing numbers. From Berwick the King's Itinerary led him through Kelso, up the Tweed, to Selkirk and Peebles; and from thence into Clydesdale, past Lanark down to Bothwell and Glasgow, between which places he stayed a month. October was passed on the east coast, between Stirling and Linlithgow; at the latter place he remained nearly three months superintending the building of a 'Peel', with earthworks and palisades, and a thatched chamber (*camera*) for himself (17th November to 31st January 1302).<sup>4</sup>

The truce with France originally taken to the 6th January 1298

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 476, 477.

<sup>2</sup> So Ann. London, 103.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 478; Foedera; Palgrave Documents.

<sup>4</sup> Dawn, 480.



had been prolonged by the Pope to the same day 1302. Edward was not at all prepared for hostilities with France; and, for an extension of the "sufferance", he was prepared to include the Scots, but without recognizing Balliol as King of Scotland. On that footing a truce to the 30th November 1302 was ratified by him on the 26th January at Linlithgow.<sup>1</sup>

The writs for the collection of the Fifteenth granted in January (1301) were issued in October, the first instalment to be raised on the 12th November, the rest at Easter and Midsummer 1302,<sup>2</sup> so that none of the proceeds fall within our present year. A Tenth had been granted by the clergy, but the King could not issue writs for its collection; that would be the business of the bishops.

On the other hand, we find the King still hampered with the debts incurred by his lieutenants in Gascony. The Frescobaldi receive a general charge on the Customs of England, Ireland, and Scotland, subject to a prior charge in favour of men of Bayonne.<sup>3</sup> The provisions ordered for the army in Scotland will be paid out of the proceeds of the Fifteenth. For urgent needs £1,750 of timber has to be felled; for the requirements of the Household, further sums amounting to £1,666 13s. 4d. being borrowed of the Londoners.

In connexion with the ancient Weavers' Guild at Oxford we hear of a small excise duty on worsteds. Two pence is charged on 100 cloths of the best sort, a penny on an inferior sort called "coverlit".<sup>4</sup>

It would seem that apart from Tenths granted to the King the English clergy were being mulcted by the Papacy for Holy Land. We hear of an advance of 1,000 marks made to the King by the Abbot of St. Albans out of Tenths for Holy Land deposited with him, for which he was accountable to the Pope. He freely hands over the marks, and all responsibility for the same, to the King.<sup>5</sup>

Revenue :		£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells)	. . .	38,063	15	7
Wardrobe, wanting, say	. . .	9,000	0	0
Say	. . . . .	47,063	15	7

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 480, 481.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, III. 611.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 586.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 592, 593.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 604. February 1301, six years' Tenths.

## 30 EDWARD I

1301-1302. Truce ruling and the sword of the flesh for the time being sheathed, the attention of the world could be turned to the diplomatic struggle, the struggle for supremacy between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair. The Pope's intervention on behalf of the Scots had doubtless been mainly prompted by a wish to conciliate the French King on any point on which friendly action was possible. But with the Jubilee year 1300 Boniface seems to have become more domineering than ever. Meeting the Pope's pretensions with defiance, Philip, in the autumn of 1301, issued a practical declaration of war, by demanding—on monstrous charges—the degradation of a bishop as a preliminary to his execution. Boniface retorted with a series of Bulls, ending with one announcing a Council of the Gallican Church for the 'correction' of their King.

Boniface proposed to array the French clergy against Philip. The King, again taking a leaf out of the book of his Royal brother of England, resolved to array the nation against Boniface, and, for the first time in French history, convened a truly national assembly, summoning the States-General to meet in Paris on the 10th April 1302 with representatives of the *communes*, towns, and cities. By this step the *bourgeoisie* received official recognition as the *Tiers État*.<sup>1</sup>

The King's move proved eminently successful. The barons declared, in language even more emphatic than that used by the English, against all Papal intervention in French affairs. The clergy, under pressure, gave a guarded concurrence; lastly, the protests were formally presented to Boniface, not withheld as they had been in England.

The breach between Boniface and Philip was not without influence on English affairs. Certain it is that the Papal attitude towards Scotland underwent a sudden and startling revulsion. When the 30th November came, the truce with France was again prolonged, but no mention was made of that with the Scots.

A more substantial benefit, however, conferred on the King by Boniface, and one showing the Pope's urgent need of England's support, was the grant of a moiety of Crusade Tenths for three

<sup>1</sup> Martin, France, IV. 428; Savisse, 147, 148.

years from England and Ireland (12 March 1302). Payments under this head to the amount of £8,826 18s. 10d. are acknowledged on the Patent Roll of the year; with 3,000 marks (£2,000) sent direct to Otho of Granson, we seem to get £10,826 18s. 10d. as the yield of the moiety. This suggests that Boniface's grant was assessed on the Nicholas valuation of 1291.

The lay Fifteenth granted last year eventually yielded £47,088 15s. 2d. But the account was not closed till the end of the reign. Then the returns were already pledged to a considerable extent for the supplies commandeered for Scotland in the previous year. The Michaelmas Pell and the Wardrobe Account of the year are both wanting, and without them we can only offer a conjectural estimate of the revenue. The yield of the half Tenth, and a fair share of the Fifteenth should supply a handsome revenue without any of the normal receipts; but these again must have been reduced to the utmost. Everything is mortgaged; all incomings are assigned away in advance. Queen Margaret owes £4,000; she receives a charge on all receipts from 'Wardships and Marriages'.<sup>1</sup> The issues of Sees in hand are pledged to Amadeus of Savoy to the extent of £600 a year, till 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) due to him have been made good. The Gascon creditors get a further security on the Tenths; 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) have to be borrowed of the Spini for six months for immediate needs.<sup>2</sup> Last year we saw the wool duties pledged. Now we have charges laid in advance on the Tenth of the second year.

All things considered, the revenue must have reached £50,000-£60,000.

### 31 EDWARD I

1302-1303. With the expiring of the truce with Scotland (November 1302), means for the renewal of the struggle had to be provided. Edward bethought him of the Aid granted in 1290 for the marriage of his daughter Eleanor, wedded to the Count of Bar, which had never been raised. A more substantial source of revenue was obtained by the introduction of a new tariff of Customs' duties, applicable to foreign merchants, and foreign

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll, 152 A.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 46, 60, 61.

merchants only. In return for the duties, they received a grant of general rights of trading wholesale in cities, boroughs, and market towns, throughout the kingdom, together with exemption from local dues, "Murage," "Portage," "Pavage," and the like. The new duties would further be accepted by the Crown as a composition for certain existing dues, 'Prisage of Wines', however, being still retained, and accounted for separately. The new duties on wool and leather were distinguished as the *Nova* or *Parva Custuma*; the duties of 1275 being known as the *Antiqua* or *Magna Custuma*. These two sets of duties, again, were accounted for by separate collectors. Under this *Carta Mercatoria* or Merchants' Charter, as it was called, the following dues were to be levied, on exports, be it noted, as well as imports.

On the sack of wool and 300 wool-fells 3s. 4d., making with the old 6s. 8d., 10s. in all.

On the last of leather 6s. 8d., in addition to the old 13s. 4d., or 20s. in all.

Wax 2s. per quintal.

Cloth of grain (pure scarlet) 2s. per piece (*pannus*).

Cloth of half-grain 1s. 6d. per piece.

Cloth without grain 1s. per piece.

Wine 2s. per *tonel*.

All other articles of *avoirdupois* 3d. on the £1 value.<sup>1</sup>

Anxious to give the Scots no breathing time, Edward could not wait for spring to renew operations. Early in 1303 an expeditionary force under John Segrave was sent across the Border. On the 23rd of February he took up his quarters in the neighbourhood of Rosslyn. The younger Comyn (of Badenoch) and Simon Fraser, by a night march from Biggar, fell on Segrave early in the morning and captured him and sixteen knights in their beds. The advance of a further force under Robert Neville succeeded in re-capturing Segrave. Nevertheless the 'Battle of Rosslyn' was a serious check to the English.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Edward's hands were to be most materially strengthened by the offer of a definite peace with France, together with the restitution of the lost Aquitainian dominion. Locked in a life-and-death struggle with Boniface, the French

<sup>1</sup> 1st February 1303; H. Hall, Customs, I. 202-208 from M. Hale, Customs.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn; 486.



King felt that a firm alliance with England would not be dear at any price. He was further influenced by the fact that in December (1302) Bordeaux had risen and expelled the English. Edward needed no second bidding. On the footing of the restitution of the surrendered territory, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was sealed in Paris on the 20th May (1303). On the same day the Prince of Wales was betrothed by proxy to Madame Isabel.<sup>1</sup>

After seven years of warfare Edward was once more arraying an overwhelming force to make a final end of Scottish resistance. Few details are forthcoming—the King's itinerary and a few sieges are the only facts that we can give. On the 4th June Edward condescended for the first time to spend a night within the walls of Edinburgh—he always hated towns. The Forth was crossed by a bridge of boats, thus turning the flank of Stirling Bridge. At Perth the King rested for a month during June and July. Brechin castle resisted him for ten days, till the gallant commander Thomas Maule was struck down by a stone, and then the garrison at once capitulated. From Brechin Edward marched through Kincardine to Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin, and on to Loch Findhorn, again the farthest point reached by him. In those parts he remained, receiving general submissions from the 9th September to the 15th October, when a rapid march took him back to Dundee, from whence he moved to Dunfermline to settle down there for the winter.

By all accounts Edward showed himself indulgent to those who submitted. Money fines were the only penalties inflicted, and for payment of these time was given. At last even the chosen leaders began to lose heart. John Comyn of Badenoch, the elected Warden, made up his mind to submit. The younger Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, had already done so, and, in fact, was in arms with the King. Others were prepared to follow suit.<sup>2</sup> Negotiations for a settlement were opened before the end of the year.

With resources new and old flowing in, a handsome revenue appears as returned. But we have evidence of an Exchequer by no means free from difficulties, and of extreme measures having to be taken. The most juggling tricks are played with

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 487.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 488, 489.



creditors, and securities offered to them. Queen Margaret has twice to postpone the revenues assigned to her for her £4,000, to stave off more urgent creditors. A fine of £1,000 is extracted from the Londoners, on the plea of outstanding liabilities for misdemeanours of the time of Henry III. The King confesses to having laid his hands, to the amount of £1,566 13s. 4d., on treasure belonging to his sister-in-law, Blanch of Navarre, widow of Edmund, the money having been deposited with the Friars Minors. He promises to refund the same. Having cleared his conscience to this extent, he proceeds to borrow a further sum of £1,333 6s. 8d. from the same source,<sup>1</sup> but only on deposit of jewels of greater value. The second moiety of Crusade Tenth granted by Boniface yields £2,666 13s. 4d., an instructive entry.

For the revenue the Pells are extant and the sum is as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer . . . . .	29,509	16	9½
Wardrobe . . . . .	33,003	9	3¼
	<hr/>		
	62,513	6	1¼
	<hr/>		

### 32 EDWARD I

1303-1304. Early in 1304, if not before, negotiations for a settlement with the Scots were opened, as already mentioned. Comyn began by demanding for himself and his party life and limb and liberty, with an amnesty for the past, and restitution of all their possessions. Weak as Edward's hold on Scotland was, such terms could not be conceded. But, with the exception of certain leaders, the King was prepared to give assurance of life and limb, and a guarantee against imprisonment or disherison, to all who should come in by a certain day, the question of ransom being reserved. On the 5th February (1304) the Prince of Wales had a lengthened conference with Comyn at Strathord near Perth, doubtless in the cemetery there, near the present railway station. The Prince agreed to urge his father to grant life and limb, personal liberty, and freedom from disherison to all who should come in by the 20th of the month,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 73, 74, 97, 100, 108.

subject to ransom, and amends for trespasses. But Comyn and certain other named individuals would have to submit to exile for different periods. One man, and one man only, had never yet submitted to the King's authority, WILLIAM WALLACE. He must yield at the King's pleasure. On this footing, on the 9th February, a treaty was signed at Strathord. Ransom, and amends for trespasses were fixed for all at three years' value of their land or rents. The disposal of castles and other important questions were reserved for a Parliament of English and Scottish magnates to be held at St. Andrews in March. Decrees of outlawry were uttered against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison at Stirling, which place, wonderful to say, having been recovered by the Scots in 1299, still held out.<sup>1</sup>

The reduction of this stronghold taxed all the King's resources to the utmost. Begun on the 22nd April, the siege lasted three months, the King taking an active part, and exposing himself as much as any of his men. Finally, the garrison had to yield at absolute discretion. Ungirt and in their shirts, William Oliphant of Gask and Hay of Dupplin, with twenty-three men of position, knelt before Edward and begged pardon for their offences. He ordered them into confinement but not in fetters.<sup>2</sup>

Edward stayed on another month in Scotland; moving by easy stages—probably from increasing infirmities—he recrossed the Border at Jedburgh on the 25th of August (1303), doubtless satisfied that, with the exception of one man, Scotland at last had been reduced. But again felons had been freely enlisted. Pardons to 170 homicides and robbers for service in Scotland were sealed before the King left Jedburgh. Such condescension for so small a reinforcement is very significant.

The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, which had been established at York since June 1297, were now restored to their proper seats, peace being assured. Still, Edward's last word to the Scots before leaving Scotland was 'Bring me Wallace'.<sup>3</sup>

In want of money, but unable to meet a Parliament, Edward had fallen back on old ways, and by writs dated the 6th of February (1304) had ordered the collection of a tallage of a

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 490, 491.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 492. See the notarial protocol of the ceremonial at the surrender; Foedera, I. 965.

<sup>3</sup> Palgrave Documents, II. 276; Dawn.

Sixth from the demesne lands of the Crown, the boroughs, and the cities, a clear infraction, if not of the letter, at least of the spirit of the concessions bought of him in 1297, 1298, and 1299. The ungracious impost only yielded £2,862 13s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.<sup>1</sup> According to one writer, the Londoners paid only a Tenth on rents and a Fifteenth on goods.<sup>2</sup>

On the Patent Rolls we find £6,249 13s. 4d. from the moiety of the third year of Boniface's Tenths duly paid into the Wardrobe per John of Drokenesford, the Keeper. But Edward was not satisfied with that. Repeating the operations of 1302, he proceeded to lay his hands on a further sum of £6,666 13s. 4d. to the account of the same Tenths actually deposited in the Pope's name with the Abbot and Convent of Bury St. Edmunds. For their indulgence in not requiring pledges for the refund of the money, for which they were accountable, the King remits to them all debts due to him.<sup>3</sup>

For the expenses of the Prince of Wales on his way to Paris to render homage under the treaty, 2,000 marks have to be borrowed. Above we found the duties on wool assigned to the men of Bayonne. Now we have them made over to the Frescobaldi, but only for payment of what was due to Bayonne. Probably the Italians would manage the collection best, and the men of Bayonne would thus gain by the change.

With the King's drastic methods the revenue keeps up :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer (Pells) . . . . .	23,143	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wardrobe . . . . .	34,657	7	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
	57,801	1	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll, 152 a ; 35 Edward I, pipes 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. London, 134 (Stubbs Rolls Series, No. 76).

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, IV, 226.

## 33 EDWARD I

1304-1305. The matter of the tallage was taken up in a full general Parliament that was opened at Westminster on the 28th February (1305), when the protests of the magnates were bought off by giving them leave to tallage their tenants in like manner, a transaction little to the credit of either party. The petitions presented in the Parliament were numerous beyond precedent, and we seem to have for the first time the appointment of special Receivers of Petitions, to receive petitions from the various parts of the King's dominions. This will be found a regular step to be taken at the opening of future sessions.

First in urgency among the petitions was one for the consideration of the general state of the peace, and the measures to be taken for restoring order. The course of legal administration, never too strong even under Edward I, had broken down completely under the prolonged absences on military affairs of King, sheriffs, and magnates. The country was overrun with felons who had earned pardons by serving in Scotland, men further demoralized by indulgence in ravaging warfare, as war was then waged. We have already pointed to the long strings of special Commissions issued year by year for trying individual cases of wrong-doing with which justice in the ordinary course of things could not deal. On the Patent Roll of the year they number 118. Besides murders, robberies, and the like, we hear of the country being terrorized by organized bands of ruffians, 'bravos' popularly known as "Trailbastons" or 'Clubmen', whose services were at the disposal of the best bidder for any unlawful enterprise. An Ordinance was passed directing inquiry into all crimes that had remained unpunished since the 24th June 1297.<sup>1</sup>

Scottish affairs also came before the Parliament. The question of a joint Parliament of the two countries was taken up. The Scots thought that for Scotland ten delegates would suffice. Edward accordingly summoned a Grand Council or Parliament of Magnates to meet at Westminster on the 15th July with the

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 493, 494. The term "trailbaston" from designating the offenders came to be applied to the courts for trying them, "Commissions of Trailbaston".

Scottish delegates; the Council, however, was adjourned, and did not meet till 15th September.<sup>1</sup>

Before that day had come, all England was thrown into a state of jubilee by the news that William Wallace, the notorious brigand and homicide, had been found and apprehended. The rewards offered for his capture had proved too great for Scottish virtue. In August (1305) he was arrested by night in a house in or near the city of Glasgow. Securely fettered and strongly guarded he was hurried to the South. On Sunday 22nd August he entered London, the whole city turning out to see the wild outlaw. A special commission of five was appointed to try him. He was charged with treason, murder, and other crimes, committed after Edward had become *de jure* and *de facto* King of Scotland through the forfeiture of Balliol. But the points on which most stress was laid were the murder of one John Haselrig in which Wallace's personal agency was undoubted, and his persistent refusal to come in to the King's peace. Wallace answered that he was no traitor, as he had never sworn allegiance to King Edward; the acts imputed to him he did not deny. Judgment was immediately passed and entered. Short shrift had Wallace. At the door of the Hall he was fastened to the tail of a horse, and so dragged from Westminster to the Tower; from the Tower to Aldgate; and from Aldgate finally to the Elms at Tyburn, there to be hanged with the usual disgusting incidents.

Had Wallace, like the rest of his countrymen, condescended to take oaths that he never meant to keep, there seems little doubt that he would have been admitted to terms, certainly as late as the spring of 1304. What Edward wanted was not Wallace's blood, but the moral victory of his submission. Under these circumstances Wallace could not complain of his fate.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the year's finance, only one moiety of three years' Crusade Tenths had in the first instance been granted by Boniface to the King, unless the Pope should pass away within three years, in which case the whole should go to Edward. Boniface had passed away on the 11th October (1303). Edward was prompt in calling for the collection of the whole tax with

<sup>1</sup> Dawn. 495, 496.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 495-498.



all arrears ;<sup>1</sup> and we find £8,672 paid into the Wardrobe on this account.<sup>2</sup>

A new Customs duty of 2s. on the "*tonel*" of wine was introduced.

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells) . . . . .	42,750	1	0½
Wardrobe . . . . .	16,980	0	7½
	59,730	1	8

For the full revenue, assignments on the Customs to the amount of £2,790 should be taken into account.

### 34 EDWARD I.

1305-1306. Forgiving as Edward had shown himself towards the Scots whom he wished to reconcile to his rule, towards those of his born subjects who ventured to thwart or oppose him his attitude was stern and unforgiving. Not one of the men who had led the constitutional struggles of 1297-1301 escaped feeling the weight of the King's displeasure. Roger Bigod, an old man and childless, had to purchase pardon by surrendering his estates on a re-grant to himself for life, with an absolute reversion to the Crown. The Bohun of 1297 had passed away. But in 1302 his son Humphrey III was induced to apply for the hand of the Lady Elizabeth of Rhuddlan, widow of John Count of Holland, with a resettlement of the Bohun estates, leading again to an ultimate remainder to the Crown. Thus another big fief was secured prospectively for the benefit of the Royal family, in addition to Chester, Cornwall, Devon, Albemarle, and Lancaster, already brought in.<sup>3</sup> But the offendings of all others were trivial in comparison with those of the Primate, the one man who had distinctly got the better of the King, and put him to the supreme humiliation (*dedecus*)—as the King considered it—of being forced to keep his Royal word. As a deliberate insult to Winchelsey, Edward had applied at Rome for leave for the Archbishop of York Elect, William of Grenefield, the Chancellor, to carry his cross in the Southern Province. The

<sup>1</sup> 1 January ; Cal. Pat. Rolls, IV. 204, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 292-300.

<sup>3</sup> Dawn, 500.

accession of a Gascon Pope,<sup>1</sup> a subject of his own, gave Edward an opportunity of reasserting himself in more than one direction. An imposing embassy was promptly accredited to the new Pontiff, with miscellaneous instructions. One petition was for relief of the King from his oaths to the Charters; another prayed for the degradation of Winchelsey. Clement V made no difficulties. On the 29th December (1305) he sealed a Bull relieving the King of the concessions extorted from him with regard to both Charters; while on the 12th February (1306) the Primate was suspended and summoned to the *Curia*. On the 19th May he left England for the Papal Court at Bordeaux,<sup>2</sup> not to return during the reign.

The dispensing Bull was not allowed to lie a dead letter. On the 27th May the King published a new Forest Ordinance, and a most hypocritical document it was. He describes himself as tossed about even to loss of sleep, by anxiety as to what to resolve, what to do. But his trust is in the Lord. Having received complaints of malpractices on the part of the Forest officials, he proceeds to lay down fresh regulations for the legal trial of Forest offences committed on either side. Coming to the question of the disafforestments, he intimates casually that the Pope has taken off the excommunications that protected the disafforestments, and that accordingly he himself utterly revokes and quashes them. To make the revocation perfectly clear, Edward orders all newly erected fences to be removed. Nine days later the Bull absolving the King from his oath to the perambulations (*la pouralée*) was publicly read at St. Paul's.

A further substantial concession to the King was the grant of two more years of Crusade Tenths, less one-fourth reserved for the Pope.<sup>3</sup>

But already affairs in the unresting North had undergone a complete revolution; and a fresh chapter in the struggle for Scotland's independence had been opened up. On the 25th March (1306) Robert Bruce VIII, Earl of Carrick, was crowned King of Scotland at Scone. Through the death of his father (1304), Robert had become the head of the family, and the heir

<sup>1</sup> Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was crowned 14th November 1305, under the style of Clement V. With him began the series of French Popes known as the "Babylonish captivity".

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 501-503.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 502, 503.

of all its aspirations and traditions. The only man who could stand in his way was John Comyn of Badenoch, known as the Red Comyn the younger, the champion of Balliol's cause, and, failing Balliol's issue, the heir of his rights.<sup>1</sup> He was quite the leading man in Scotland, and had negotiated the Treaty of Strathord submitting to Edward.

A conference between Bruce and Comyn as to their several rights and pretensions held in the church of the Friars Minors at Dumfries (10th February 1306) had ended in the assassination of John Comyn. The news that Bruce was King flew round the land like wildfire; once more the Scots rose tumultuously. The Comyn partisans and the English hid their heads or fled for their lives.<sup>2</sup>

Edward quickly realized the gravity of the crisis. On the 1st March he ordered supplies for a fresh campaign in Scotland; while in April Aylmer of Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was instructed to call out men for the suppression of the rebellion of Robert de Brus, late Earl of Carryck. The spiritual arm was also brought to bear, and a Bull was obtained from the friendly Clement, authorizing the excommunication of Bruce, 'if the charges against him should prove well-founded'. At the same time the King announced an intention of knighting the Prince of Wales, a ceremony that had been unaccountably delayed, as he was almost twenty-two years old. Proclamation was made for all men, eligible and desirous of being knighted, to come to town to be dubbed at the King's expense. On Whitsunday, 22nd May, the appointed day, the unprecedented number of 267 neophytes appeared to profit by the King's liberality. Unable to sit his charger, he was brought to London in a litter. He had to dub his son in private, but he appeared at the banquet. Two swans, richly adorned with net-work of gold, were carried in by heralds and minstrels with festive pomp. When the birds were laid on the table, the King rose to utter a chivalrous vow in honour of the occasion. 'Before God and the swans' he swore to avenge the death of Comyn and the insult to the Church. The pageant had a deeper meaning. The King hoped to pledge the rising generation to the achievement of the conquest that was slipping from his grasp.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comyn was son of Marjory, sister of King John.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 504, 507.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 508, 509.

The festivities over, the forces were started for the North. Perth was occupied without opposition. Bruce, who had gathered something of an army, appeared on Sunday, 19th June, at the gates of Perth, to challenge Aylmer of Valence. The latter answered that he would fight on the morrow. The Scots, after waiting 'from Mattins to high noon', retired to Methven, about six miles off, and disarmed. They were looking about for quarters, when Valence, thinking better of it, came down on them and scattered them. The loss in killed was small, but the defeat was a heavy blow to the infant cause. The Prince then appeared in the field, and by merciless severity cowed the Lowlands. Bruce with the main body of his followers retreated to the hills. On the 11th August they were brought to bay at Dalry near Tyndrum by the Western Highlanders, and suffered a crushing defeat. His band was broken up, and for the winter he had to find refuge in the island of Rathlin on the coast of Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

The King himself took no part in the campaign. In failing health he was taken in a horse-litter to Carlisle in August, and settled down for the rest of the year at Lanercost Priory.

For the knighting of his son the King was entitled to call for an Aid. But, with the reduced number of knight's fees liable to contribute, the proceeds would be inadequate. Application was made to Parliament; and on the 30th May the counties granted a Thirtieth and the towns a Twentieth. The writs for the collection were issued on the 22nd July.<sup>2</sup> The eventual yield of the two came to £32,710 15s. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.<sup>3</sup> From the Triennial Tenths of Boniface we have some £1,200 paid into the Wardrobe.<sup>4</sup> Clement's Tenths would not come in yet. The revenue sinks below that of the previous years, but the Patent Roll shows assignments on the Customs and other revenues to the amount of £1,000 that should have gone to the Exchequer.

Revenue :					£	s.	d.
Exchequer	.	.	.	.	43,033	8	8
Wardrobe	.	.	.	.	14,161	13	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
					57,195	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 510-512.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, IV. 456. To be paid in 2nd February, Trinity and All Saints, 1307. The Aid also was taken apparently; id. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll, No. 152, 35 Ed. I.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. Pat. Roll, 449.

## 35 EDWARD I

Michaelmas, 1306-1307. Edward was not long in finding what a dangerous game he had been playing in applying for Papal aid in his dealings with his subjects. Concurrently with the delivery of the Bulls relieving the King from his oath to the Forest Charter, and suspending Winchelsey, appeared a Papal agent, one William Testa, commissioned to administer the vacant Province, and to demand for three years the first-fruits of all vacant benefices, an unheard-of claim. Both demands met with equal resistance. The first-fruits were refused; Edward declared indignantly that he would never tolerate the appointment by the Pope of any man, native or foreign, to interfere with temporal affairs in his kingdom.

But Edward was not in a position to act up to his brave words. He owed the refund of impossible Tenths.<sup>1</sup> He had to concede the temporal profits of Canterbury during vacancy.

The doings of Master Testa provoked a storm in the important Parliament that met at Carlisle on the 20th January 1307. A solemn remonstrance was addressed to the Pope, in the name of the clergy and people, protesting against invasions, old and new, of the rights both of the clergy and of lay patrons. The petition was followed up by one to the King, presented in the name of the earls, barons, and whole community (*communauté*) of the land, praying for legislation against such malpractices. Master Testa was brought before the Parliament, and forbidden to proceed with his exactions; while the Act of 1303 forbidding the remittance of money from England to foreign chapters was confirmed and published.

So far all looked well. But before the close of the session a Cardinal appeared at Carlisle, Peter of Spain, commissioned to negotiate a general peace. He soon got round the King, and succeeded in extorting from him a series of important writs, one of them reinstating Testa and a colleague as Administrators of Canterbury, while another empowered them, 'so far as in him lay', to levy first-fruits. The matter came before the Council, when it was pointed out that the King had not attempted to override the prohibitions of Parliament, and that Testa must

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, II. 96-98.



not proceed with exactions prejudicial to King and people. Edward acquiesced. But before any further step could be taken in the matter the King had been gathered to his fathers.<sup>1</sup>

Edward was not allowed to soothe his last hours with the reflection that he had finally quelled the Scots. Before the winter was well out, Bruce and his men were again on the move. King Robert, leaving his shelter in Rathlin, landed in the Clyde and made his way to Carrick. But he was unable to establish his position there, being hunted from one hiding-place to another in Carrick and Galloway. But the English authorities relaxing their pursuit, he came down to the plains, where he was received with general submission in Kyle and Cunningham (Mid and North Ayrshire). Being quartered at Galston on the river Irvine, he was able on the 10th May to accept a challenge from Aylmer of Valence for a battle at the foot of Loudon Hill, repelling all his assaults and driving him to fall back on Bothwell. Three days later Bruce gained a more decided victory over Monthermer, titular Earl of Gloucester,<sup>2</sup> near Ayr, driving him into the castle.

Edward now began to see that his lieutenants, if left without support, would find Bruce and his "disherited" lairds too much for them. He resolved once more to take the field in person. He called for a muster of troops for the 8th July, and hung up his litter in Carlisle Cathedral. On Monday, 3rd July, he mounted his war-horse and accomplished two miles on the way to Bowness, his health not allowing him to leave his bed till the afternoon; the next day he rode on another mile or two. Wednesday he rested, and on Thursday he struggled on to Burgh-on-the-Sands. There he expired on Friday, the 7th July, as his attendants were raising him in bed to partake of food. He had reached the 68th year of his age and the 35th of his reign.

For the revenue of the year, payments of petty arrears of the Tenths of Boniface suggest that the King's share had been fully paid in, but nothing appears on account of the Tenths granted by Clement. Settlements of accounts with magnates reveal

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, 515-517.

<sup>2</sup> Married to the Lady Jeanne of Acre, widow of Gilbert of Clare II Earl of Gloucester.

the indulgence of the Crown in dealing with such persons. For feudal dues and trespasses, large and small, John of Warenne Earl of Surrey had been in debt to the Crown to the amount of £7,026 13s. 6½*d.* The sum of £333 6s. 4*d.* had been paid in on account; the balance is remitted, together with £990 for the farm of Bamburgh Castle.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, Edmund Earl of Arundel had owed £5,266 7s. 0¾*d.* for debts incurred by himself or his ancestors; £1,012 3s. 8*d.* had been paid off; he is excused the remainder.<sup>2</sup> For further encroachment on the Exchequer returns, we find the proceeds of the wool and leather duties made over wholesale to creditors by assignments. The entire yield of the ports of Sandwich, Southampton, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne are made over to the Frescobaldi; those of Boston to the Spini; those of London and Ipswich to Brabanters.<sup>3</sup> But, after all, the Frescobaldi have but a poor account to give of the result of their dealings with the King of England. They put in a claim for £23,000, made up of £10,000 for loans to the King; £10,000 for the loss incurred through the withdrawal of deposits to the amount of £50,000, caused by reports of their dealings with the English King; and £3,000 for expenses and losses incurred in England. A commission is appointed to examine their accounts and report.<sup>4</sup>

The revenue strictly belongs to the reign of Edward II, as the Audit fell in his reign; but as it really represents the system of his father, we give it here.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Exchequer Receipts (Pells) . . . . .	30,781	5	2½
Wardrobe . . . . .	24,763	8	2¾
	55,544	13	5¼

With a minimum revenue of £25,000 in round numbers, and a maximum of £112,000 returned for the thirty-one years for which the accounts are extant, Edward shows an average income of £57,000 as compared with the £34,000-£36,000 that we found as that of his father. For this increase Edward had to thank his own strength of character; the loyalty of his

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, IV. 497.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 521.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 466, 521, 524.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 513.

subjects and the kindness of well-disposed Pontiffs. But what with the extensive payments by way of assignment, and what with loans imperfectly repaid, it is clear that the real revenue must have greatly exceeded that returned into the combined Exchequer and Wardrobe. Another set of accounts of which we hear nothing would be those of the King's Chamber or Privy Purse. The return of these would help to swell the unattainable total.

To review the individual sources of income :

I. For the hereditary revenues of the Crown or Old Crown Revenues, as we have called them, we will allow at a guess £20,000 a year. Apart from the *Terrae Datae* the County and Borough farms reached £12,730 1s. 8d. in 1171-1172. Our estimate would include all the Wardships, Marriages, fines, forfeitures, escheats, amercements, vacant Sees, scutages, and scutage fines, also the ordinary yield of the Hanaper in Chancery, or Issues of the Great Seal (£1,000 a year),<sup>1</sup> as well as the returns from the Tower Mint and Exchange (£2,000 a year)<sup>2</sup>; but not extraordinary returns like those from a re-coinage or other special windfalls.

II. Next we take the returns from the Customs, the history of which in fact really dates from this reign. In 1275 the wool and leather duties were granted, at 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool and 300 wool-fells, with 13s. 4d. on the last of leather. The sack of wool contained 26 stone of 14 lb. each; and the last of leather 20 dickers or 200 skins. These duties applied both to exports and imports, and were known as the *Magna* or *Antiqua Custuma*. From 1294 to 1297 Edward levied (without authority) monstrous "maletotes" of 3 marks (£2) on the sack of common wool and 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) on the last of leather and sack of superior wool, imposts reaching to fully half the value of the wool.<sup>3</sup>

In 1303 the foreign merchants were induced, in consideration of a grant of general rights of trading, and immunity from local tolls or charges, to agree to a new scheme of duties. Under this a further 3s. 4d. was imposed on the sack of wool and

<sup>1</sup> Wardrobe, 21st and 22nd years.

<sup>2</sup> Enrolled Accounts, Pipe Roll 14 Ed. I, 4 & 15 Ed. I, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, Prices, I. 388.

300 wool fells ; and 6s. 8d. on the last of leather. These duties became known as the *Nova* or *Parva Custuma* as distinguished from the *Antiqua* or *Magna Custuma*. Between them the charges on wool and leather were raised to 10s. and £1 respectively. The old and new duties were collected by different sets of officials, thus complicating the accounts. At the same time under the name of the *Carta Mercatoria* the subjoined dues were imposed on exports, be it noted, as well as on imports, but from foreign merchants only. Later in the year Edward endeavoured to obtain the consent of the native merchants, but met with a point-blank refusal.<sup>1</sup>

*Carta Mercatoria.*

Wax, 2s. per quintal (French, 100 lb.).

Cloth of grain (pure scarlet), 2s. per piece (*pannus*).

Cloth of half-grain, 1s. 6d. per piece.

Cloth without grain, 1s. per piece.

Wine, 2s. per tun.

All other articles of avoirdupois 3d. on the £1 value.<sup>2</sup>

These duties were the origin of the historic Tunnage and Poundage. No consent of Parliament had been obtained to the imposition of the *Nova Custuma* on natives ; and in consequence we shall find that in the following reign the collection was suspended by order of Parliament in 1311, but sanctioned and reimposed in 1323.

We have heard of duties being assigned to Italians. But that was only by way of security for advances. The actual collectors were always natives. In addition to all these duties the old 'Prisage of Wines' was maintained, and collected by yet another official.

For the yield of these various dues Sir Matthew Hale, writing from records not now extant, gives the returns from the *Antiqua Custuma* for nine years from the seventh to the sixteenth years of the reign (1278-1287), as averaging £12,800 a year.<sup>3</sup> For the yield of the illegal surtax on wool, current from the year 1294 to the year 1297, we have two isolated accounts from the Port of London, one showing totals of £11,684, and the other

<sup>1</sup> See Dawn, 485 ; Select Charters, 490.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, I. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Hargreave, Tracts, 154 (London, 1784).

totals of £18,034 4s. 10½d. For the last four years of the reign the following accounts are forthcoming:<sup>1</sup>

		£	s.	d.
Year 32 (1303-1304).	<i>Antiqua Custuma</i>	4,897	0	6
	<i>Nova Custuma</i>	3,697	0	0
	Wine dues	1,737	0	0
	Prisage Wines	14	0	0
Total		10,345	0	6

Here, however, only six months of the yield of the *Antiqua* appear to be given. Allowing for that we should get a total of £15,000.

		£	s.	d.
Year 33 (1304-1305).	<i>Antiqua Custuma</i>	15,587	9	9½
	<i>Nova Custuma</i>	10,237	10	1
	Wine Duties	2,497	7	0
	Prisage Wines	139	19	4
Total		28,462	6	2½

		£	s.	d.
Year 34 (1305-1306).	<i>Antiqua Custuma</i>	11,170	9	7½
	<i>Nova Custuma</i>	4,461	15	4
	Wine Duties	2,592	4	0
	Prisage Wines	153	1	10
Total		18,377	10	9½

		£	s.	d.
Year 35 (1306-1307).	<i>Antiqua Custuma</i>	13,389	15	0½
	<i>Nova Custuma</i>	4,844	13	6½
	Wine Duties	1,789	16	0
	Prisage Wines	11	10	0
Total		20,035	14	6¾

With these data we may freely allow £12,000 a year for the first sixteen years of the reign; for the last fifteen years we can allow £20,000, the two together making an average of £15,870 for each of our thirty-one years.

<sup>1</sup> L.T.R. Enrolled Customs Accounts, Edward I and Edward II. Nos. 1 and 2.



## III. Direct Taxes.

## (a) Parliamentary Subsidies :

For the Parliamentary grants from the laity and higher clergy holding lands by military tenure, the reader, turning to our Table II, will see that Edward obtained nine Subsidies of varying amounts. For the yield of seven of these the official returns are extant, so that the figures may be trusted ; and they amount to £403,860 2s. 3½d. If for the missing Eleventh and Seventh of 1295 and the missing Twelfth and Eighth of 1296 we add £30,000 each, together £60,000, sinking shillings and pence, we shall get a total of £463,860 for the Parliamentary Subsidies. Spread over our thirty-one years of the reign that would represent a contribution of nearly £15,000 a year.

## (b) Grants from clergy in Convocation.

With respect to these we have already pointed out that the clergy insisted on keeping the accounts in their own hands, and that as a rule no returns were sent into the Exchequer, so that we can only offer estimates based on the two assessments, namely the old Norwich valuation and the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV of 1291. Of the Norwich valuation no official record has been produced, but we have seen that the Tenth amounted to £11,000 in round numbers, implying an assessment of £101,000, and at that we will take it. Of the *Taxatio* full details are extant<sup>1</sup> and they show a total valuation of £210,644 with £20,000 as the yield of a Tenth, of which Canterbury would provide £16,000 and York £4,000.

A Twentieth granted to Edward for his Crusade need not be noticed here.<sup>2</sup> In 1280 Edward received Fifteenths for three years from Canterbury with Tenths for two years from York ; these grants we may count as equal to two Tenths. In 1290 the King had another Tenth under the Norwich assessment. These three would amount to £33,000 ; allowing £6,600 or 7 per cent. for the expenses of collection, a usual allowance, we get a return of . . . . . £27,000 0 0

Under the new valuation the King had two full

Tenths, or £40,000 less the 7 per cent. . . . . 37,200 0 0

Of irregular grants we have, in 1283 a Thirtieth from Canterbury and a Tenth for two years from York, the Thirtieth would stand at £5,333 and the York Tenths at £8,000, together say £13,000 less 7 per cent. . . . . 12,090 0 0

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 581, Table.

<sup>2</sup> See Dawn, 280.

The Moiety, fully paid, as we have seen, would come to £105,000 less 7 per cent. . . . .	£97,600	0	0
The Redemption Fifth would reach £45,000 less 7 per cent. . . . .	41,850	0	0
And the Canterbury Tenth and York Fifth of 1298, £20,800 less the allowance, say . . . . .	19,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	234,740	0	0
	<hr/>		

Spread over the thirty-one years we should have a further contribution of £7,572 a year. But these estimates, however, by some might be considered fully too liberal.

(c) Papal grants.

For the Crusade Tenths from the pockets of the English clergy granted to Edward by the Popes, in 1273 Gregory V granted one to Edward for his Crusade expenses, but as none of the money reached England we need not be concerned with it. But we must note that the grant was only made subject to the reservation of one-fourth to the Holy See, a reservation that evidently held good with regard to subsequent grants. The first contribution to the Exchequer from Papal grant came in 1278 when, as already mentioned, Nicholas III allowed Edward 25,000 marks (£16,666 13s. 4d.) out of Crusade Tenths voted in the Council of Lyons. Again, 1282, the King's brother Edmund borrowed £4,175 from money collected for Crusade purposes and in deposit at the Temple, as we have seen. In 1284 Martin IV expressed a willingness to grant the King six years' Crusade Tenths in hand, with a promise of three more in addition. Between 1284 and 1285 Edward laid his hands on £24,866 13s. 4d. Crusade money laid up in divers abbeys. In 1286 Honorius granted six extra years in addition to the six already conceded. These Tenths were only conceded on condition of an actual expedition to Palestine. But in 1291 Nicholas IV gave the King a "Quittance" or release of the obligation in respect of the first six years' Tenths, the amount of the yield being given as 100,000 marks. Finally, in 1302 Boniface VIII granted a moiety of three more years under the usual reservation of one-fourth for the Holy See. For the yield of all these, doubling the return of the first six years' Tenths we should get 200,000 marks. But "Quittances" given do not bind us to suppose that Edward

received the whole of that amount; these grants were always subject to reservation for the Holy See, usually a fourth part. Deducting a fourth part of the 200,000 we get 150,000 marks or £100,000. Boniface's grant would be taken on the enhanced taxation. We have already seen that it is pretty clear that the King had managed to grab the whole or £60,000. Official returns for two of them are extant, and with contributions from Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, they stand at £20,443 and £20,375.<sup>1</sup> For the Papal grants we thus get £160,000. Spread over the thirty-one years that would represent rather more than £5,000 a year.

The contributions to the revenue from the Irish Exchequer vary exceedingly. Thus we have £7,005 for two years and eight months (11th and 12th years). Again we have £38,000 paid in for seven years; while again one year, the 23rd, yields £1,000, and another yields £280.<sup>2</sup> The most complete return that we have is that for the five years from 1299 to 1304 with £11,267 paid in. Probably £3,000 a year would represent a fair average. To this should be added the yield of the Irish Customs. The only clear datum that we have for these gives £5,171 as the return for four years and a half, or an average say of £1,150 a year; this, with our general estimate of £3,000, would make some £4,000 a year. Of course Ireland contributed to Subsidies and Tenths.

For a final review. The individual sources of income, so far as we have been able to trace them, appear together to show the following average total for the thirty-one years for which returns are extant:

	£	s.	d.
Hereditary Revenues . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Customs . . . . .	15,870	0	0
Grants from Parliament . . . . .	15,000	0	0
"    "    English clergy . . . . .	7,572	0	0
"    "    Popes . . . . .	5,000	0	0
Ireland . . . . .	4,000	0	0
<b>Average Total . . . . .</b>	<b>67,442</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Comparing this total with the £57,000 average shown by the Pell and Wardrobe Accounts the reader will see that we were

<sup>1</sup> Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies".

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Rolls 13, 15, 16, 19 Ed. I.

fully justified in our contention that those accounts failed to return the total revenue received by the King. Still greater would the deficiency be if we had been able to render any account of the numerous loans of which he has heard, of which a large proportion must have remained unsettled. But for an estimate of "loans unpaid" we must wait for the next reign.

The lowering of the standard of the currency, and the re-coinage of 1279-1280 have already been noticed. Of the profits of the minting we traced £35,788 6s. 8d. within the first two years of the new issue.

TABLE I. PARLIAMENTARY SUBSIDIES OF EDWARD I

A. D.	Regnal year.		£	s.	d.
1275-1276	4	Fifteenth, clerical and lay . . . . .	81,201	13	9
1283	11	Lay Thirtieth . . . . .	36,330	0	0
1291 (19th February)	18	Fifteenth from higher clergy and Barons . . . . .	116,603	0	0
1294 (12th November)	23	Tenth from Counties and Sixth from Towns . . . . .	86,307	7	10½
1295	24	Eleventh from Counties and Seventh from Towns . . . . .	No return		
1296	24	Twelfth from Counties and Eighth from Towns . . . . .	No return		
1297-1298	26	Lay Ninth . . . . .	34,679	6	10½
1300-1301	29	Lay Fifteenth . . . . .	47,088	15	2
1305-1306	34	Thirtieth from Counties and Twen- tieth from Towns . . . . .	32,710	15	4½
			403,860	2	3½

TABLE II

Wardrobe Account (Chancellor's Roll, No. 84, printed Append. to  
J. of Oxnead. Rolls Series, No. 13)

*Receipts from 22nd March, 1282 to 22nd November 1284*

	£	s.	d.
Transferred from Treasury . . . . .	6,373	6	8
Mint and Exchange . . . . .	1,590	11	2
Jews . . . . .	228	11	2
Ordinary Crown Revenues, Sheriffs, Vacant Sees, Wardships, &c. . . . .	1,812	19	2
Advances repaid . . . . .	2,974	9	1
Wool and leather customs . . . . .	22,916	5	5
Fifteenths arrears . . . . .	500	0	0
Benevolences and loans . . . . .	16,524	7	6
Scutage Fines . . . . .	2,959	2	2
Prisage Wines (6 years) . . . . .	1,318	9	4
Surplus stores sold . . . . .	7,624	3	5
Thirtieths . . . . .	36,330	17	4
Stated Total . . . . .	101,153	2	5
Less tranferred from Exchequer . . . . .	6,373	6	8
Total from Taxation . . . . .	94,779	15	9

TABLE III. REVENUES OF EDWARD I

## Exchequer accounts.

Edward I. Regnal year.	A. D.	Term.	Roll.	No.	Year's total.			Wardrobe accounts.			Grand total.		
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	1272	Mich.	Auditor's Receipt Roll	38	781	16	11½						
2	1273	East.	Pell's "	43	4,161	1	10	4,942	18	9½			
3	1274	Mich.	Auditor's "	19	7,116	12	10	12,107	9	9½			
4	1275	East.	Pell's "	45	4,990	16	11½						
5	1276	Mich.	Auditor's Issue	4	6,615	5	8	12,551	13	11½			
6	1277	East.	Pell's "	19	5,936	8	3½						
7	1278	Mich.	Pell's Receipt	50	6,160	6	0½	11,439	5	6			
8	1279	East.	Auditor's Receipt	27	5,278	19	5½	10,727	19	4			
9	1280	Mich.	Pell's "	53	6,809	14	1½	11,501	9	1½			
10	1281	East.	"	54	4,638	5	2½	10,352	8	3			
11	1282	Mich.	"	55	5,750	2	4½	13,294	7	7½			
12	1283	East.	"	56	5,751	6	9	14,876	2	7			
13	1284	Mich.	"	59	6,917	0	2½	14,703	12	4½			
14	1285	East.	"	60	3,435	8	0½	24,643	2	9			
15	1286	Mich.	Rolls wanting.		say 6,000								
16	1287	East.	Pell's Receipt Roll	62	7,294	7	7½						
17	1288	Mich.	"	63	9,876	2	7						
18	1289	East.	Pell's Issue Roll	29	say 5,000								
19	1290	Mich.	Pell's Receipt Roll	64	7,811	16	11						
20	1291	East.	Auditor's Receipt Roll	32	6,891	15	5½						
21	1292	Mich.	Rolls wanting.		6,516	9	11½						
22	1293	East.	Pell's Issue Roll	31	say 6,000								
23	1294	Mich.	Rolls wanting.		6,126	12	9½						
24	1295	East.	"		say 6,000								
25	1296	Mich.	Pell's Receipt Roll	65	11,902	3	8						
26	1297	East.	Auditor's Receipt Roll	33 & 34	13,635	8	10						
27	1298	Mich.	Rolls wanting.		say 11,902	3	8	25,537	12	6			
28	1299	East.	Pell's Receipt Roll	69	10,378	19	8	21,378	19	8			
29	1300	Mich.	Rolls wanting.		say 11,000								
30	1301	East.	Pell's Issue Roll	38	11,624	5	8	22,479	0	2			
31	1302	Mich.	Pell's Receipt Roll	70	10,854	14	6						
32	1303	East.	Rolls wanting.		say 21,000								
33	1304	Mich.	"										
34	1305	East.	"										
35	1306	Mich.	"										
36	1307	East.	"										
37	1308	Mich.	"										
38	1309	East.	"										
39	1310	Mich.	"										
40	1311	East.	"										
41	1312	Mich.	"										
42	1313	East.	"										
43	1314	Mich.	"										
44	1315	East.	"										
45	1316	Mich.	"										
46	1317	East.	"										
47	1318	Mich.	"										
48	1319	East.	"										
49	1320	Mich.	"										
50	1321	East.	"										
51	1322	Mich.	"										
52	1323	East.	"										
53	1324	Mich.	"										
54	1325	East.	"										
55	1326	Mich.	"										
56	1327	East.	"										
57	1328	Mich.	"										
58	1329	East.	"										
59	1330	Mich.	"										
60	1331	East.	"										
61	1332	Mich.	"										
62	1333	East.	"										
63	1334	Mich.	"										
64	1335	East.	"										
65	1336	Mich.	"										
66	1337	East.	"										
67	1338	Mich.	"										
68	1339	East.	"										
69	1340	Mich.	"										
70	1341	East.	"										
71	1342	Mich.	"										
72	1343	East.	"										
73	1344	Mich.	"										
74	1345	East.	"										
75	1346	Mich.	"										
76	1347	East.	"										
77	1348	Mich.	"										
78	1349	East.	"										
79	1350	Mich.	"										
80	1351	East.	"										
81	1352	Mich.	"										
82	1353	East.	"										
83	1354	Mich.	"										
84	1355	East.	"										
85	1356	Mich.	"										
86	1357	East.	"										
87	1358	Mich.	"										
88	1359	East.	"										
89	1360	Mich.	"										
90	1361	East.	"										
91	1362	Mich.	"										
92	1363	East.	"										
93	1364	Mich.	"										
94	1365	East.	"										
95	1366	Mich.	"										
96	1367	East.	"										
97	1368	Mich.	"										
98	1369	East.	"										
99	1370	Mich.	"										
100	1371	East.	"										



18	Mich.	1289	Pell's Receipt Roll	71	8,385	10	9	24,637	8	7	62,950	0	0	11	=	87,587	8	7
19	East.	1290	"	72	16,251	17	10											
20	Mich.	1291	"	73	23,132	19	5	49,191	15	1	9,834	8	7	12	=	59,026	3	8
21	Mich.	1292	"	74	26,058	15	8											
22	East.	1293	"	77	42,140	1	4	80,213	11	3	3,154	0	10	11	=	83,367	12	1
23	Mich.	1294	"	78	38,073	9	11											
24	East.	1295	"	80	42,674	4	3	61,751	17	8	12,164	4	5	13	=	73,916	2	1
25	Mich.	1296	"	83	19,077	13	5											
26	East.	1297	"	84	28,731	5	9	89,626	18	2	12,413	14	4	14	=	102,040	12	6
27	Mich.	1298	"	86	60,895	12	5											
28	East.	1299	"	87	63,107	11	1	80,657	11	9	7,741	6	10	14	=	88,398	18	7
29	Mich.	1300	"	90	17,550	0	8											
30	East.	1301	"	102	26,915	14	2	45,399	4	3	4,909	15	3	15	=	50,308	19	6
31	Mich.	1302	"	105	18,483	10	1											
32	East.	1303	"	107	41,591	5	5	81,158	4	0	30,873	0	7	15	=	112,031	4	7
33	Mich.	1304	"	110	39,566	18	7											
34	East.	1305	"	112	25,995	7	0											
35	Mich.	1306	"	113	21,835	14	5	33,915	8	6								
36	East.	1307	"	114	12,079	14	1											
37	Mich.	1308	"	117	21,573	4	10	37,398	13	4	9,106	16	2	16	=	46,505	9	6
38	East.	1309	"	78	15,825	8	6											
39	Mich.	1310	"	120	17,411	16	6	38,063	15	7								
40	East.	1311	"	122	20,651	19	1											
41	Mich.	1312	"		6,694	14	6											
42	East.	1313	"	125	13,443	15	7	29,509	16	9	33,003	9	3	17	=	62,513	6	1
43	Mich.	1314	"	129	16,066	1	2											
44	East.	1315	"	131				23,143	14	0	34,657	7	5	17	=	57,801	1	5
45	Mich.	1316	"	134	9,875	14	1											
46	East.	1317	"	143	13,267	19	11											
47	Mich.	1318	"	147	16,663	13	4	42,750	1	0	16,980	0	7	18	=	59,730	1	8
48	East.	1319	"	152	26,086	7	8											
49	Mich.	1320	"	153	18,390	4	9	43,033	8	8	14,161	13	3	18	=	57,195	1	11
50	East.	1321	"	156	24,643	3	11											
51	Mich.	1322	"	169	16,644	11	5	30,781	5	2	24,763	8	2	18	=	55,544	13	5
52	East.	1323	"	162	14,136	13	9											
53	Mich.	1324	"															
54	East.	1325	"															
55	Mich.	1326	"															
56	East.	1327	"															
57	Mich.	1328	"															
58	East.	1329	"															
59	Mich.	1330	"															
60	East.	1331	"															
61	Mich.	1332	"															
62	East.	1333	"															
63	Mich.	1334	"															
64	East.	1335	"															
65	Mich.	1336	"															
66	East.	1337	"															

For Notes to Table III see next page.

## NOTES TO TABLE III

<sup>1</sup> Q.R. Exchequer, Wardrobe, and Household, Bdle. 360, No. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll 7 Ed. I, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 7 Ed. I, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 8 Ed. I, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Pipe Roll 12 Ed. I, 3 & Q.R. *supra*, Bdle. 350, No. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Id. *plus* share of Chancellor's Roll, No. 84.

<sup>8</sup> Chancellor's Roll, No. 84, & Pipe Roll 13 Ed. I, 5 (2 years together).

<sup>9</sup> Q.R. *supra*, Bdle. 351, No. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Pipe Roll 19 Ed. I (2 years together).

<sup>11</sup> Pipe Roll 21 Ed. I, 26 (2 years together).

<sup>12</sup> Pipe Roll 19 Ed. I, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Pipe Roll 22 Ed. I, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Pipe Roll 27 Ed. I, 20.

<sup>15</sup> Id. 13.

*N.B.*—Preceding Wardrobe totals taken from rolls audited and added up.  
The following totals taken from books not finally added up.

<sup>16</sup> Household Roll 28 Ed. I, printed by J. Topham, 1787 (Society of Antiquaries).

<sup>17</sup> Q.R. Exch. Bdle. 365, No. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Id. Bdle. 368, No. 7.

## EDWARD II 'OF CARNARVON'

*Began to reign 20th July 1307; crowned 25th February 1308; killed 21st September 1327.*

### I EDWARD II

1307-1308. With the advent of the Second Edward, we find ourselves confronted by a young man of three-and-twenty, who had already established a reputation for dissipation and extravagance, and an utter disregard for the dignity and duties of his station. The pursuit of pleasure was his business; and as his *physique* was his strong point, he devoted himself to outdoor amusements, and athletic and manual exercises. But the unfortunate thing was that the only companions with whom Edward cared to associate were the men with whom he came into contact in connexion with his favourite pursuits, grooms, watermen, mechanics, actors, and buffoons; the society of men of rank he habitually avoided.

One especial confidant he had in the person of Pierre de Gaveston, a young man who had been brought up as his school-fellow, a "typical Gascon", quick-witted and accomplished, but also vainglorious and presumptuous beyond endurance. His influence over the Prince of Wales had been a source of anxiety to the late King, who had twice banished him from his son's court.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th July Edward I had passed away at Burgh-on-Sands, on his way to suppress the fresh rising of King Robert Bruce. Young Edward at the time was in the South, making arrangements for his marriage with Isabelle of France. On the 18th July he reached Carlisle; on the morrow he paid a due visit of respect to his father's remains, still lying at Burgh. Next day (20th July) he was proclaimed King, and received the homage of the barons assembled for the Scottish campaign. Taking the reins of government into his own hands, he relieved the Chancellor, Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, of the Great

<sup>1</sup> Genesis of Lancaster, I. 3.

Seal. With the levies in the field, all ready, the prosecution of the Scottish campaign was clearly the first thing to be taken in hand. Edward managed to push an advance as far as Dumfries (6 August). By the 3rd September he had quietly returned to Carlisle.

Already he had shown his contempt for the injunctions of his father and the feelings of the nation by recalling Peter Gaveston, and conferring upon him the princely appanage of Cornwall. The barons protested against such a wanton alienation of Crown property.

The recall of Gaveston was naturally followed by the disgrace of the faithful Treasurer, Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, who had resisted the Prince's demand for money, and even ventured to lecture him on his habits. All his property was confiscated, and himself sent to the Tower, in defiance of all Episcopal or clerical immunities.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th October a full general Parliament met at Northampton. In honour of the King's accession, and to meet the multiple calls for the war with the Scots, and the impending coronation and marriage of the King, the Estates voted a Twentieth of movables from the counties and a Fifteenth from the boroughs. The two together, it will be seen, produced £38,375 19s. 5d.<sup>2</sup> The clergy are represented as having granted a Tenth. But we are inclined to regard this as simply a confirmation of the Crusade Tenth granted by Nicholas during the last reign, which was still current; because the product returned, £20,338 14s. 3d., was stated to include £5,778 arrears of the earlier Tenths, thus reducing the yield of the current Tenth to £14,560 in round numbers, a very fair sum.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these regular Parliamentary grants the King managed to obtain from the Merchant Vintners of Aquitaine a concession of the *Nova Custuma* (3s. 4d. on the sack of wool and 6s. 8d. on the last of leather) as yet only exigible from natives. He also got a concession of 2s. on the tun (*tonnel*) of wine, till then only subject to a duty of 8d. the tun.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis of Lancaster, I. 4-6. Langton was eventually restored at the instance of the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> See the figures as added up by Mr. Pollard, Eng. Hist. Rev. XXXIV. 329; and our Table of Lay Grants.

<sup>3</sup> See L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies" Clerical.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, I. 6.

The subjects discussed in the Parliament included the state of the currency, said to be depreciated to the half of its value. Proclamations were issued ordering it to be taken at its full face value. This proceeding had reference to the "crockards" and "pollards", the base coin issued in the late reign that evidently had not been driven out of circulation by the prohibition issued in 1299.<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th October the remains of the late King were finally entombed in the Abbey.

A fresh social distinction was now conferred upon Gaveston. Edward betrothed him to his niece Margaret, daughter of his sister Jeanne of Acre by Gilbert II Earl of Gloucester. This connexion would bring Peter within the circle of the Royal family.

In the elation of his new position Gaveston ventured to proclaim a tournament to be held at Wallingford, a castle appertaining to the "Honour" of Cornwall. With execrable bad taste Peter allowed matters to be so arranged that all the honours of the day fell to himself and his young friends; discomfiture being allotted to the Earls of Hereford, Warenne, and Arundel, some of the biggest men of the land.

The Great Seal taken from Ralph of Baldock had been shortly given to John Langton, Bishop of Chichester, an old official; while Walter Reynolds was appointed Treasurer. These measures show that Edward had no general purpose of reversing his father's measures, no aim beyond that of indulging his personal likings and dislikings.

The year 1308 opened with the King's wedding. On the 22nd January Edward crossed the Channel; on the 24th he did homage to Philip the Fair for Aquitaine and Ponthieu; and next day married Isabelle, then about twelve years old. On the 7th February the Royal couple recrossed to Dover. On the 21st they entered the Tower; the state ride to Westminster followed the next day; and on Sunday, 25th February, the coronation of the Royal Pair was celebrated. Every preparation had been made to ensure a successful ceremony. But the nation was not in mood for rejoicing. Gaveston obtruded himself on the public, eclipsing the very King himself; the proceedings were mismanaged; even the banquet in the evening failed to

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 4-7.



give satisfaction. There was plenty to eat but no attendance. But the coronation was chiefly remarkable for the new and more stringent form of oath introduced, embodying all the old obligations along with one distinctly novel; the oath too had to be tendered to the King in French, another novelty, Edward's command of Latin not being equal to the occasion. Eadgar had promised 'to hold Church and people in good peace; to put down evil doing; and to temper justice with mercy'. The time-honoured formula was now tendered to Edward with the further requirement that he should promise to 'uphold and defend the laws and righteous customs that the community of the realm should choose'.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible not to see in these words a demand for recognition of the constitutional rights and powers of Parliamentary action obtained by the nation from the King's father.<sup>2</sup>

The barons were not slow of putting the new principle to the test. "The Gaveston question had already reached an acute stage." Two days after the coronation a private meeting was held in the Refectory, Westminster, to concert measures—doubtless as to getting rid of Gaveston. The King in alarm offered to meet the magnates in Grand Council, or Parliament of barons. The barons assenting, a Council was held on the 3rd March, when at once it was moved that the King be requested to give effect to his coronation oath, by pledging himself beforehand to ratify anything that the barons might resolve upon in connexion with matters then to be laid before them. The King's response being found unsatisfactory, a tumultuous scene ensued, and the Council ended in preparations for war, the barons going home to set their castles in order. The King did the same, and a general outbreak seemed imminent. But matters could not be left in such a condition. Writs were immediately issued for another Parliament of magnates.

The Council met on the 30th May. The barons had taken the precaution of coming in arms—of course in self-defence. The banishment of Gaveston was their first demand; and a bond of confederation was drawn up, propounding the doctrine that homage and allegiance were due to the Crown itself, not to the person of the wearer of it.

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 8-12.

Edward struggled hard to resist compliance. The barons were divided. The younger Despenser was on their side, the elder, Hugh, stood by the King.<sup>1</sup> Lancaster had not yet turned against his cousin.<sup>2</sup> But finally the King was forced to agree to dismiss Gaveston by Midsummer Day. Archbishop Winchelsea, who had come home, gave the sanction of his authority, declaring Gaveston excommunicate if he should outstay the term. At the appointed time the King escorted his favourite to Bristol, on his way to a new sphere of action as King's Lieutenant of Ireland.

At another Council held in August the barons renewed their attack; and forced the King to banish from Court the elder Despenser and Nicholas Segrave the Marshal.<sup>3</sup>

The year 1308 witnessed the attack on the great Order of the Temple of Jerusalem instituted by Clement V under pressure from Philip the Fair, who refused to tolerate any organization within his dominions that was not under his control. The suppression was based on audacious calumny, and charges for which no particle of evidence was ever produced. A few confessions extorted by torture were recalled as soon as the pressure was removed. To do Edward justice, he refused to believe in the charges brought against the 'distinguished Order of the Temple', till Clement sent him a Bull in which he informed the King that he himself had 'personally examined' one brother of high character who had confessed to abnegation of Christ; he therefore requests the King to make arrangements for the arrest of all the Templars throughout his dominions.

This testimony was irresistible. When the Vicar of Christ himself entered the witness-box scepticism was silenced. On the 10th January 1308 all the Templars in England, Ireland, and Scotland were consigned to custody.<sup>4</sup> For his dutiful submission Edward had his reward in the shape of a grant of three fresh Crusade Tenths.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 9-15.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas of Lancaster was son of Edmund Crouchback, younger son of Henry III and brother of Edward I. The elder Despenser (Hugh II) was son of Hugh I, who had been Chief Justiciar and Constable of the Tower under de Montfort. Hugh III was married to Eleanor of Clare, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester by Jeanne of Acre.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 9-15.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 16-20.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 339.

For the year's revenue the Customs appear to yield £14,434 5s. 8d.<sup>1</sup> But the Wardrobe Accounts are wanting, so that our total is inadequate.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	25,346	10	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

## 2 EDWARD II

1308-1309. On the 27th April 1309 a full general Parliament met at Westminster. The King wanted money, and leave to recall Gaveston. The latter request was refused or ignored. The demand for a Subsidy was answered by the promise of a Twenty-fifth from the laity, if the King would give a favourable answer to certain Articles of petition. It was arranged that the King should give his answer at an adjourned Parliament to be held at Stamford on the 27th July.

The grievances complained of by the Articles were all infractions of recognized law: 'Prises' and 'Purveyances'; the improper extension of the jurisdictions of the Marshal, Steward, and Constable—grievances of the lower orders. On all points the King promised substantial redress. But the Commons scored a distinct success by obtaining the suspension of the *Nova Custuma* obtained by Edward I in 1303 from the foreign merchants, as having been obtained without Parliamentary sanction.<sup>2</sup> Later in July (1309) the Articles, with the King's answers to them, were duly published; while in August a confirmation of the Act of 1300 against Purveyance was issued, and orders given for the collection of the Twenty-fifth.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, the hopes of a lasting settlement had already been dashed by the infatuation of the King. He had recalled Gaveston, meeting his 'brother' at Chester with open arms.

The impertinent behaviour of the favourite towards the magnates again reduced the King to a state of impotence. Peter's lively wit found scope in coining nicknames for his enemies; the Earl of Lancaster was 'The Old Fiddler'; Pembroke (Valence), 'The Jew'; Warwick, the 'Black Dog' of Arden, while his brother-in-law Gloucester was stigmatized as the 'Cuckoo's Chick'. 'No man could get a word of the King,

<sup>1</sup> See Table D.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 24; Statutes, I, 154-156.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 23-25.

if Gaveston was present; nor get anything out of the King except through Gaveston.' <sup>1</sup>

Since the accession matters had gone ill in the North. Aberdeen and Galloway had been recovered by the Scots. The King's officers, though still masters of twenty castles, <sup>2</sup> found themselves in helpless plight through the hesitating policy of the Government; neither peace nor war; levies successively called out, reduced, adjourned, and countermanded. At the end of the year the Earl of Gloucester had to inform the King that the Articles granted at Stamford were not being observed, and that the collection of the Twenty-fifth must be suspended. As no returns appear to be forthcoming, we may assume that the tax was not raised.

For the revenue, if the Twenty-fifth had come to nothing, payments on account of the first three Crusade Tenths granted by Clement had come in to the novel amount of £20,335 7s. 7d. <sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the Pells show the handsome return of £98,248 8s. 0½d. The Wardrobe Accounts of the year are again wanting. But if we add the £30,000 average shown by the Accounts that are extant, <sup>4</sup> we should have a revenue exceeding £128,000.

The Customs likewise show the big return of £19,172 3s. 2d., the heaviest of the reign. The inflation may safely be attributed to some forced loan or irregular contribution of some sort or other.

### 3 EDWARD II

1309-1310. In March 1310 a Grand Council met in London. In spite of the King's prohibition, Thomas of Lancaster and other barons presented themselves in arms.

The barons opened fire by presenting a petition in which they depicted in gloomy colours the state of the realm, or rather, the state of the King's position, reduced by 'evil councillors' to great discredit in the land. They ended by demanding the appointment of a Committee of 'the Baronage' to frame Ordinances of Reform.

The barons were evidently following the precedents of 1258. But in truth there was no real parallel between the two situations.

<sup>1</sup> G. Baker, 184.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 26, note.

<sup>3</sup> L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, 'Subsidies Clerical'.

<sup>4</sup> See Table C.



In 1258 England was almost in a state of dissolution ; discontent pervaded every class ; men and beasts were succumbing to famine and pestilence. In 1310 the price of wheat was, and had been for some years, high.<sup>1</sup> But we do not hear of actual dearth. In fact there was nothing really wrong in the state of the country, but the temper of the offended magnates, and their action, was seemingly inspired more by pique than by constitutional zeal.

Edward, however, was powerless to resist. On the 16th March he authorized the barons to appoint such persons as they might think fit to regulate the state of the Royal Household and the state of the realm.

On the 19th March the barons, apparently without waiting for the election of the Ordainers, issued Ordinances providing that six of their number should sit in London as a standing committee ; forbidding all alienations of Crown property without their sanction ; and requiring the issues and profits of the realm to be paid directly into the Exchequer, ' for the profit of the King, and the maintenance of his household ; so that he may live of his own, without taking prises, other than those due and accustomed '.

On the 20th March the Ordainers were finally elected and sworn in. The election was conducted on an indirect plan, similar to that adopted in 1258. The prelates elected two earls ; the earls elected two bishops ; and the four so elected chose two barons ; the six then added by co-optation fifteen others, making a total of twenty-one. These included Archbishop Winchelsey ; the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, St. Davids, and Llandaff ; the Earls of Lancaster, Gloucester, Lincoln, Hereford, Warwick, Pembroke, Richmond (John of Brittany), and Arundel. Conspicuous by his absence was Hugh le Despenser the elder, banished from Court in 1308.

Of these Ordainers, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Richmond represented the King's party. Chichester the Chancellor, Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, Arundel, and Pembroke belonged to the opposition. In connexion with Edward's attitude towards the Ordainers we may point out that in May he took the Seal from John Langton, the Bishop of Chichester, as Ordainer, and gave it to his creature Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester ;

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, Prices, I. 196, 238.



while one John Sandale replaced Reynolds as Treasurer. With the Great Seal thus in his hands the King was master of the situation, and such we shall find him throughout.

On the 2nd August Edward published his ratification of the provisional Ordinances; at the same time issuing orders for the collection of the *Nova Custuma* suspended by the orders of the Stamford Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

The sittings of the Council over, the King could turn his attention to the war with Scotland. On the 16th September the King's levies were mustered at Tweedmouth by Bartholomew of Badlesmere, assisted by Nicholas Segrave—the man driven from Court by the barons—as Marshal. The post of course belonged to Hereford. Roger Bigod had died in 1306, and the Constable's staff was in the hands of a minor, the King's cousin Thomas. All the Earls had been summoned, but only Gloucester and Surrey condescended to appear. On the 16th September Edward crossed the Border, resting at Roxburgh Castle. On the 21st he plunged into the Forest of Selkirk, “a region that would have proved exceedingly dangerous, had there been any enemies to oppose him”. On the 29th of the month he emerged at Biggar; on the 12th October he signs at Lanark; on the 23rd he reached Linlithgow; and on the 1st November he returned to Berwick, content there to remain inactive till the end of the ensuing month of July.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the campaign, Bruce, true to his tactics, kept carefully out of reach, leaving the famine-stricken land to protect itself.

With respect to the year's revenue, from the Enrolled Accounts of Subsidies we learn that the grand sum of £20,565 9s. 2d. had been paid in on account of the second of the three Crusade Tenths granted by Clement; being the full value on the Taxation of Nicholas IV, and again without any reservation for the Holy See—quite a novel circumstance. But the Exchequer Accounts do not at all correspond. The Wardrobe Accounts are still wanting; perhaps the money might figure there, but we only have the Pells; as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	37,596	3	5½
Wardrobe wanting.			

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 26-31.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 31.

## 4 EDWARD II

1310-1311. In his retirement at Berwick Edward was busy devising plans for raising money. We hear of contributions kindly granted by individuals. On the 14th April the King writes to Archbishop Winchelsey begging him to obtain from Convocation a grant of 12*d.* on the mark of spiritualities. The Southerners agreed; the Northern clergy at first refused; but ultimately, the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham agreed to a private levy of 10*d.* on the  $\text{£}1$  for defence against the Scots. The offer might bring in  $\text{£}125$ ; the 12*d.* on the mark from Canterbury  $\text{£}2,687$  10*s.* On the 21st April Ingelard of Warle, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, is instructed to 'confer' with divers towns and monasteries on matters relating to the King and the war against Scotland. The King trusts for favourable answers. These were old and approved modes of raising money. The next measure had an element of novelty in it. Under the late reign the men raised under Commissions of Array had always been paid and maintained by the King. Edward now writes to the sheriffs that it might suit the counties better if each township were to equip, and maintain at their own expense, one stout serviceable foot-soldier, for seven weeks' service in Scotland, instead of providing a larger number at the King's expense.

The King's financial endeavours were rewarded with a moderate, but only a moderate, amount of success. The attempt to raise an army failed utterly.<sup>1</sup> Abandoning for the time his schemes against Scotland, Edward submitted to summon a full general Parliament to meet in London on the 8th August.

While the King was at Berwick the case of the English Templars was finally disposed of. A compromise was arranged, intended to give the Templars as much relief as could be given without impugning the credit of the Pope. They were required to sign a paper admitting that they had been grievously accused by Clement, and that they could not clear themselves of his charges. They were further required to abjure all heresy, and to beg for absolution as penitents. On these terms they were released, and distributed among the monasteries of the kingdom,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 34.

4d. a day being allowed by the King to each Templar out of their confiscated estates. 'So perished the Order of the Temple, suppressed, but not condemned; strangled, an unresisting victim.' <sup>1</sup>

At the end of July Edward left Berwick, reaching London on the 13th August. Gaveston, out of regard for his safety, had been left at Bamborough. On the 16th of the month Parliament was opened at Blackfriars, the King taking up his quarters with the Preachers. Disturbances had been feared in the known state of politics, and arrangements were made by the Civic authorities for keeping the City gates by day and night.

Edward so far had systematically ignored his Patent of the 16th March (1310) and the provisional Ordinances based thereon. The barons were determined that their powers should be renewed and enforced, and they were equally determined that Gaveston should go.

The Articles of the previous year were reproduced for the King's acceptance, with a long string of fresh Articles "conceived in the same spirit but of a more stringent character". Edward struggled hard and long to retain both his prerogative and his friend; ultimately, in the face of civil war, he had to surrender both. On the 11th October the Great Seal was finally affixed to the Articles as amended.

Like most medieval legislation, the Ordinances present a curious jumble of matters dealt with. Many of the articles simply recondemn practices of admitted illegality, such as illegal 'Prises' and Purveyance. The 11th Article entirely abrogates the *Nova Custuma* as having been imposed without due Parliamentary sanction. Some Articles deal with individual cases of wrongdoing. A long Article is devoted to Peter Gaveston: he must leave England by the Feast of All Saints, never again to set foot within the King's dominions. Other Articles go beyond the requirements of the present day, as those forbidding the King to leave the realm or to engage in operations of war without consent of the barons in Parliament, and requiring him to consult the baronage in the choice of all his chief

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 34-39. See Lavissee, France, III. 197, for revelations as to the methods of Philip the Fair and his minister, William of Nogaret, in their dealings with Clement and the Templars.

Ministers. This claim had been advanced in 1244 and again in 1301, and both times resisted.

On the 8th October the weary Parliament was prorogued. Both the Chancellor, Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, and John Sandale, the Treasurer, were turned out of office, the King and the barons probably being unable to agree as to permanent appointments. Gaveston was sent to the King's brother-in-law John of Brabant. In less than four months' time he was back again.

For the revenue of the year both Pells and Wardrobe Accounts are deficient.

## 5 EDWARD II

1311-1312. In the first week of January 1312 Edward slipped away to the North. He complained, naturally enough, of the bondage in which the barons would keep him. The Keepers were ordered to bring the Seal to York. On the 18th the King announced that the 'good and loyal' Peter Gaveston, 'exiled in violation of the laws of the land', had been recalled by his orders. The King's infatuation in recalling Gaveston seems extraordinary, as we are told that he was puzzled where to put him out of harm's way; not a place seemed safe in England, Ireland, Wales, Gascony, or France.

The recall of Gaveston was accepted by the barons as "a declaration of war". The King had already proclaimed a virtual state of siege in London by ordering the city to be armed and guarded on his behalf. An overture to treat for a revision of the Ordinances was rejected with scorn. The Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Arundel, Warwick, and Pembroke met at St. Paul's, and adopted a resolution to the effect that so long as Gaveston was alive and in England the country could have neither peace nor rest. They took their measures very craftily, allotting districts to each other, and arranging for a concentration in the North. For troops to face them the King had to write to Gascony; while for the support of his Household he had to plunder right and left.

From York the King moved to Newcastle. But on the 4th May Lancaster burst into the city and almost surprised King, Queen, and Gaveston, who had just managed to escape



to Tynemouth in the forenoon, taking the Great Seal with them, but leaving a quantity of jewels and treasure behind them. Next day Edward took ship to Scarborough, placed Gaveston in fancied safety there, and then went off to endeavour to raise men.

Three days later, the hapless Gaveston had to surrender and place himself in the hands of Pembroke (Aylmer de Valence), Surrey, and Henry Percy. A complicated convention was entered into by the three, under which they pledged themselves on the Eucharist to produce their captive safe and sound in York Minster by the 1st of August, to abide the decision of Parliament. Moving southwards by easy stages, on the 9th June the party rested at Deddington in Oxfordshire. Leaving Gaveston under an insufficient guard, Aylmer went off to visit his wife at a manor house of his in Northants. Warwick, who must have been watching his prey, appeared early in the morning with a powerful following, seized Peter in bed, and carried him off to Warwick. The Black Dog had vowed to make Peter feel his teeth. As for Gaveston, all efforts on his behalf failed utterly. Not a soul would raise a finger on his behalf. His fate was settled in private conclave between Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick. On the 19th June he was taken to Blacklow Hill, a mile and a half from Warwick, and there summarily beheaded without any form of trial. Lancaster and Hereford witnessed the deed; Warwick kept at home.<sup>1</sup>

This gross deed of blood compromised the whole future course of the reign, placing an impassable gulf between the King and Lancaster. In its ulterior consequences "it was the first drop of the deluge which within a century and a half carried away nearly all the ancient baronage and a great proportion of the Royal race of England".<sup>2</sup>

But the nation at the time had no misgivings. Gaveston's fate was hailed with ferocious joy. Nevertheless the King's hands for the time were distinctly strengthened. Pembroke and Surrey, indignant at the reflections brought on their honour, joined him at once. Leaving York, Edward entered London on the 15th July, and meeting with a friendly reception, three days later attended a folksmote at the Cross of St. Paul's, when the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 42-46.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, II. 332.



allegiance of all parties was secured. But the King's inclinations were not at all in the direction of peace. He issued writs for raising forces in the counties, and himself collected some men in Kent. A full general Parliament that had been summoned to meet at Lincoln in July was postponed to meet at Westminster in August. But the confederate Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, and Arundel came forward in overwhelming strength, and took up a position at Ware. Unable to induce the Earls to meet him unarmed to discuss a revision of the Ordinances, Edward adjourned the Parliament to the 30th September.

Under such circumstances the year's revenue could not but fall, and the Pells only return the humble figure of £34,987 3s. 11½d., of which (with the *Nova Custuma* suspended) the Customs provide £13,094 4s. 11d. From the Enrolled Accounts we learn that, as a matter of fact, Clement's third Triennial Tenth had been paid to the grand amount of £20,589 18s. 5d. We shall find them coming into account next year.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	34,987	3	11½
Wardrobe wanting.			

## 6 EDWARD II

1312-1313. Our financial year opened with efforts at pacification, the King's circle realizing the personal risks involved in hostilities with the Earls. For help in the work of negotiation, at Edward's request, two Cardinals had come from Paris, bringing with them two accomplished French *légistes* (*legistae Francigenae*), prepared to challenge any smallest limitations of the Royal authority. Not content with pulling the Ordinances to pieces, clause by clause, they insisted that the whole scheme must be held involved in the condemnation of the Mise of Lewes uttered by Louis IX. But the malcontent camp in Herefordshire declined to discuss domestic questions with foreigners. Negotiations under the joint presidency of the foreign envoys, and of Gloucester and John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, were opened in September and lasted three months. The barons apparently at first, while offering to apologize, demanded a confirmation of the Ordinances. Eventually they had to

narrow their demands to one of amnesty, Edward showing himself very stiff, and seeking to wear out his opponents by delay.

By the Accord, as finally settled, the offending barons would present themselves under proper safe-conduct, in Westminster Hall, on a given day, to do humble obeisance to the King on their knees, swearing that in all the matters concerning which he felt aggrieved they had intended no despite to him individually. Restitution to be made of the jewels seized at Newcastle; the barons to use their best endeavours to obtain from Parliament a Subsidy for the Scottish war. On tender of the apology a free pardon to be delivered to the barons, remitting to them, 'their supporters, households and allies' all action, suit, or complaint in respect of the capture or death of Gaveston, or of any matters connected therewith (20 December 1312).

This arrangement, by ignoring the Ordinances, gave a certain moral victory to the King; but, as a matter of fact, he had trampled on them from the first, and simply continued to do so. In October he had reinstated Sandale as *locum tenens* of the Treasurer, and Bishop Reynolds as Keeper of the Seal. By their advice he issued writs for the collection of an unauthorized tallage of a Tenth of rents and a Fifteenth of movables from all cities, boroughs, and Crown demesnes, a gross violation of *Confirmatio Cartarum*, and one for which no excuse could be pleaded, as the proceeds of the third Triennial Tenths had come in as we have seen, besides windfalls from the confiscated possessions of the Templars. The tax met with strenuous resistance, and apparently was never raised. On the 1st January 1313 all private charters were called in for resealing; an objectionable proceeding, but one not without precedent.<sup>1</sup> In the course of February (1313) jewels and effects described as 'late the property of Peter Gaveston' were delivered to the King; but in other respects the work of reconciliation made no progress, matters remaining at a deadlock. The King kept aloof from the baronage and kept the country in a state of alarm by constant proclamations. A general Parliament summoned in March, as provided by the Accord, came to nothing, because the King did not appear. Another Parliament was summoned in May, and then the leaders of the Opposition were absent. Another ill-timed

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 47-50.

and unpopular step now taken by the King was a visit to France, to assist at the knighting of the three sons of Philip the Fair. The barons protested, as the English holds in Scotland were falling one by one; while Bruce's raiders, after levying blackmail on Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, were now threatening York. But the perverse King clung to his pleasure trip. He appointed Gloucester Regent; and on the 25th or 26th May crossed from Dover to Boulogne, with the Queen and an immense retinue. £20,000 were borrowed from a Genoese firm for the expenses of the journey.

On the 16th July the King returned to Sandwich. A third Parliament, summoned before the King went abroad, had been sitting idle owing to his absence, and much discontent had been expressed thereat. A fourth full Parliament was immediately summoned for the 23rd September.

This time the Opposition appeared in force and insisted upon a settlement of their affair. But Edward was as stiff and unforgiving as ever; only after repeated warnings from within his circle, and open threats from without, was he prevailed upon to carry out the terms formally accepted the year before. At last, however, Lancaster, Warwick, Hereford, Arundel, and Percy received the kiss of peace. Two days later a full amnesty was granted to them and 167 followers. The pardon extended to all transactions since the date of the King's marriage.

In consideration of the pacification the Parliament was induced to make a grant. The barons and counties gave a Twentieth and the cities and boroughs a Fifteenth. The former yielded £35,153 11s. 5d. and the latter £3,419 3s. 10½d., together £38,572 15s. 3½d.<sup>1</sup> In May the Convocation of Canterbury had voted 4d. on the 13s. 4d. of spiritualities, which should yield £895 13s. 4d. But all that did not satisfy the King. The bishops and conventual churches were called upon for Benevolences varying in amount from 100 marks to 150 marks each. The total exacted reaches the sum of £8,666 13s. 4d. The Northern clergy were convened at York on the 3rd September to grant another 4d. on the mark, while on the 23rd November the Durham clergy granted 20d. on the £1 for defence.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> For the yield see Pollard's figures; Engl. Hist. Rev. sup.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Pal. Dunelm.; Genesis, I. 52.

besides all this, William Testa, now a Cardinal of the Church, had lent the King 2,000 marks in France, while Clement had advanced 169,000 gold florins on a mortgage of the revenues of Gascony. Both were pressing for repayment.

On the 11th May (1313) Archbishop Winchelsea closed his great career. The King wanted the See for his creature Walter Reynolds, Keeper of the Seal and Bishop of Worcester, a man of humble origin and no education, a courtier and time-server. Shirking responsibility for so unpopular an appointment, Edward induced the Pope to 'provide' Reynolds.

The revenue is disappointing, the Subsidies not having come in yet.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	49,930	12	9
Wardrobe wanting.			

## 7 EDWARD II

1313-1314. The year 1314 witnessed great things, establishing the Bruce dynasty, and placing the relations of England to Scotland on a new footing. Early in the year both Roxburgh and Edinburgh fell ; Edward had already promised his adherents that he would be in Scotland by the month of June.

With March active preparations were begun and carried on for three months without intermission ; horses and arms were bought, shipping bespoken, and stores of fodder and corn accumulated. Footmen from the northern counties, Wales, and Ireland were ordered in great numbers. The clergy and infirm were directed to compound by paying the monstrous scutage of 20 marks (£13 8s. 6d.) the knight's fee. In May final Commissions of Array were issued in England and Wales. In short, all the resources at the King's command were called into requisition. But Edward was not happy in his treatment of his subjects and their hearts were not with him.

On the 11th June the King appeared at Berwick. Philip Mowbray, the Constable of Stirling, had agreed to yield if not relieved by the Feast of St. John. The muster-rolls of the campaign do not appear to have been preserved. The King was not



looking to his cavalry, as he understood that the Scots occupied a position unassailable by that arm. Only 95 tenants were called upon for service in the field. On the analogy of former musters that would not represent more than 300 mounted men. With the footmen a grand total of 12,000 effectives is the most that we could allow for the whole army.<sup>1</sup>

Neither Lancaster, Warenne, Arundel, nor Warwick appeared in person. But the King had with him Gloucester, Pembroke, Hereford, Despenser, and Nicholas Segrave.

Bruce's task was to bar the access to Stirling. For that purpose he mustered his forces in the Tor Wood, a strong position on a hilly ridge, on the old Roman road from Falkirk to Stirling, and situate about eight miles from the latter place. But Bruce did not contemplate taking his stand there, among thickets, where he might be surrounded and starved out. A better battle-field to fall back upon he had in his rear. With respect to the composition of his forces, the higher Scottish baronage was conspicuous by its absence. Of his men only five could boast of names worthy of mention, namely, his brother Edward, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Walter, High Stewart (Steward) of Scotland, James Douglas, and Robert Keith the Marshal. It will be seen that the strength of the national party still lay with the clergy, the minor barons, gentry, burghers, and yeomen of better class.

After a hasty advance of 86 miles from Berwick, 'leaving little time for sleep and less for food, with horses and men alike fatigued', on the afternoon of Sunday, 23rd June, Edward appeared before the Tor Wood. Personal encounters of a truly Homeric character ensued. Gloucester, pressing Bruce too closely, was repulsed and unhorsed; Henry of Bohun, 'cousin to the Earl', riding full tilt at the King, missed his mark and was brained at a blow with the battle-axe. An attempt on the English left to outflank the Scots' position, by a circuit round lower ground to the west of the Tor Wood, was cut off, and Thomas Grey of Heton, father of the author of the *Scalacronica*, was unhorsed and taken prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 58-62, comparing II. 222, where the muster-roll of the campaign of 1385, waged under much more favourable circumstances, shows a total of 13,734 effectives, and that by general consent was held the largest force ever equipped in England.



Meanwhile Bruce was executing an orderly retreat; the English followed, irritated and discouraged by the course of the day's events. On reaching the Bannockburn stream they pitched their tents there, on slopes facing the position of the Scots who occupied a height in front of them, on the other side of the stream, not a mile off. Bruce was bivouacking pretty much on the site where he intended to abide the English onslaught. The site is not open to doubt. Carefully cherished tradition points to the Bore Stone, close to the Roman road, as the place where Bruce's standard was set up. That shows him to have held the middle of a rounded hill, with ground falling away on all sides. In fact the easiest slope was that in front, along the road from the burn upwards, where the gradient only amounts to one in forty-six. Besides the burn he would have the protection of a water-course, the lead supplying the Bannockburn mill, a greater obstacle to cavalry than the fordable burn itself. Not content with these defences, we are told that Bruce spent the night in covering his front with a line of little pits concealed by turf laid on hurdles, represented as almost forming a continuous ditch.<sup>1</sup>

When the short June night had run its course, Bruce proceeded to draw up his men, all on foot, men-at-arms as well as others. He arrayed them in three "schiltrums", or solid circular corps of pikemen, the most approved formation for resisting cavalry. The three corps were not arranged in one line, the two wings being thrown forward but on a line with each other, in advance of the central body, the whole arrangement forming, so to speak, three sides of a square, a deadly trap for cavalry. To face an advance along the Roman road, all the ground that Bruce had to defend was a breadth of not more than 300 yards, or 150 yards on each side of the road; outside those limits the slopes would be too steep for cavalry. Each schiltrum would have 100 yards to occupy. With a diameter of that length or something less, each schiltrum, four ranks deep, could comfortably accommodate 1,500. Three such corps would suggest a total of 4,000 or 4,500 men as the strength of the Scottish foot. From the height of the

<sup>1</sup> See map in Genesis, I. 62. It might be suggested that the line of pits was in fact the mill-lead, which is not noticed by the writers. The English were busy during the night collecting planks to bridge ditches.

Bore Stone Bruce commanded the central force ; Randolph held the right wing, and Douglas and Stewart the left wing. A small force of light cavalry under Robert Keith the Marshal was kept in the rear, to act as might be required.<sup>1</sup>

In the morning, on the English side, the older and more experienced commanders urged a 'keeping of the Feast', the Nativity of St. John, to rest the troops after their heavy day of marching and their broken night. Edward stigmatized them as traitors, and the party of action carried the day.

'About the third hour', i.e. nine o'clock, the action began. Gloucester hurried the English cavalry across the burn, making for the Scottish left as the wing most open to attack, but only to encounter an impenetrable forest of pikes. The whole force was speedily broken up and discomfited. The archers coming to the front would soon have mowed down the schiltrums, but Bruce was prepared for them. Letting loose his light horse under Keith, he took them in flank and swept them downhill towards the village of Bannockburn. Then, as we may suppose, the schiltrums breaking their formation and wheeling into line would carry all before them. The losses among the English chivalry were great. Most noteworthy of the fallen was the Earl of Gloucester, who would have been saved for ransom had he worn his coat-armour. Among the prisoners were John of Brittany and the Earls of Hereford and Angus (Robert of Umfraville) with seven barons.

The King made for Stirling, presumably by open ground to the west of the battle-field. But Mowbray could not shelter him, as he would have to surrender on the morrow, so he sent him off to make his way to Linlithgow. On the 27th June Edward signs<sup>2</sup> at Berwick.

A beaten and fugitive King, Edward returned to his dominions, to meet the inevitable Parliament. The session was opened on the 9th September at York, Edward being ashamed to show himself to the Londoners. In his distress he appealed to the barons, asking for counsel and advice. But Lancaster was obdurate, and at once answered that matters had gone wrong because the Ordinances had not been observed ; the King was virtually excommunicate, having sworn to observe them and

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I, 63-68.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 68-72.

failed to do so, whereby he incurred a sentence uttered by Winchelsey. Edward was ready with every promise; but Thomas insisted on performance. Reynolds therefore had to surrender the Great Seal to John Sandale; while Walter of Norwich, a Baron of the Exchequer, became Treasurer.

The course to be held towards Scotland was also discussed in the York Parliament. Bruce had followed up his victory by ravaging England up to the gates of Richmond (Yorkshire). Peace with England, 'we may well believe, he desired beyond everything'.<sup>1</sup> But for peace on the only possible footing, his recognition as King of Scotland, Edward refused to treat. All that Parliament therefore could do was to treat for exchange of prisoners.

The northern counties, and eventually the whole kingdom, suffered from Edward's obstinacy in refusing peace. The autumn and winter were marked by a series of devastating Scottish inroads. The See of Durham gave Randolph a bond for 800 marks for a truce to the 13th January 1315; Cumberland yielded a tribute of 600 marks; Tynedale submitted bodily and did homage to the King of Scots. But the whole of England was now beginning to suffer from a failure of crops caused by the advent of a cycle of rainy years. Prices, which had begun to rise in 1313, rose rapidly towards the close of 1314.

No question of a money grant was raised in the Parliament. In July the King had extorted from the Canterbury clergy loans in anticipation of future grants to the amount of 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.), as already mentioned. Further supplies were procured by borrowing on the Continent. In fact, with the liberal grants of the previous year, the revenue comes out as one of the highest of the reign. The Wardrobe Accounts are still wanting, but the Pells alone return £77,840 8s. 7½d.

<sup>1</sup> " *La chose du monde qu'ill plus desire* " : Foedera.

## 8 EDWARD II

1314-1315. Our year opened under circumstances more gloomy than any that had yet been witnessed since the days of the Barons' War. The Scots, not content with ravaging the North, were preparing to invade Ireland; famine had fairly set in, leading to sickness and mortality among men and beasts.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th January a full general Parliament met at Westminster and sat till the 9th March. An attempt was made to relieve the general distress by fixing a maximum for prices of meat. The highest allowed for the best fat ox, not fed on grain, is 16s. ; 24s. if fattened on grain. Forty pence is the most that may be charged for a pig two years old ; 20d. for a fat sheep with its wool, 14d. for one without its wool.

In the wretched personal struggle—for such it was—Lancaster had attained to the position of “top dog”. Accordingly Despenser was again removed from the Council, and Walter Langton with him. Regulations for the King's Household were also drawn up, and he was put upon the miserable allowance of £10 a day, £3,650 a year,<sup>2</sup> when his father, who was a man of economical habits, spent £14,000—£15,000 a year. In consideration of this ‘reform’ Subsidies were voted; the counties gave a Twentieth yielding £33,962 9s. 5½d., and the boroughs a Fifteenth yielding £3,248 6s. 8½d.<sup>3</sup> The clergy granted a Tenth, but upon the express condition that the money should be collected by ecclesiastics, and applied under the direction of Parliament to the needs of the Commonwealth, a stipulation of long standing, as the reader knows. The grant yielded only £15,874 3s. 10d., a reduction necessitated by the Scottish inroads, the Taxation of Pope Nicholas having been ‘relaxed’, and the whole assessment reduced to £191,903 3s. 5½d. The contribution from Canterbury was reduced from £16,000 to £12,000 ; and that from York reduced from £4,000 to £2,385.<sup>4</sup>

The Petitions to Parliament were very numerous and interesting, as showing the national assembly as a supreme Court of

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rogers gives the average price of wheat per quarter as having been 5s. 6d. in 1313 ; in 1315 it nearly rose to 15s. the quarter ; Prices, I. 196, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See Pollard, Roy. Hist. Soc. sup.

<sup>4</sup> See Stubbs's Tables, Const. Hist. II. 581.

Appeal, open to all suffering from injustice or oppression. But again we hear of prevalent confederacies for interference with the course of justice.

The spring and summer were spent in efforts to raise forces to resist the Scots. In July Bruce and Douglas laid an unusually vigorous siege to Carlisle; all known modes of attack were resorted to. On the 11th day the approach of a relieving force sent the Scots flying homewards. But meanwhile Allerdale and Copeland had been ravaged.

Under the alarm created by the attack on Carlisle, Edward, still unable to help himself, was driven to appoint Lancaster Chief Captain of the forces in the North vice Pembroke.

Lancaster's position had been enhanced by the break-up of Gloucester's estates. Gilbert III left no issue, and the great inheritance fell to his three sisters as co-heiresses.<sup>1</sup> Then in August, just after Thomas's advancement to the supreme command, Guy, Earl of Warwick passed away, young in years, but a man of culture and weight in public estimation; his disappearance left Lancaster without a rival among the lay baronage.<sup>2</sup>

The revenue of the year keeps well up, the Pells alone showing £69,715 7s. 11½d., but the Wardrobe Accounts are still wanting.

Pells . . . . £69,715 7s. 11½d.

## 9 EDWARD II

1315-1316. On the 12th January 1316 a general Parliament was opened at Lincoln, when Lancaster, carrying all before him, fairly "wrested the reins altogether from" Edward's hands.<sup>3</sup>

The session was opened by the King in person; but the great Earl did not vouchsafe to make his appearance till the 12th February. After three days of overt debate, and two more of covert intrigue, John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, addressing the Earl in Parliament in the King's name, said that 'to remove

<sup>1</sup> Gloucester's sisters were: (1) Eleanor, married to the younger Despenser; (2) Margaret widow of Gaveston, re-married to Hugh of Audley; (3) Elizabeth widow of John de Burgh (son of the Earl of Ulster), re-married to Theobald of Verdun. He was destined to pass away in 1316; and in 1317 Elizabeth would finally have to marry Roger of Amory. She survived him, and at Cambridge her name lives in Clare College, founded by her as Clare Hall in 1359.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 77-79.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs.



doubts', it was the King's will that he, Thomas, should be Chief of his Council (*Chief de son conseil*), and, in the name of the King and that of the magnates, begged of him to undertake the burden of the office. Lancaster took time to consider, and then accepted, on condition that the Council should be consulted in all matters touching the realm, and that any members of the Council who should give advice 'prejudicial to the realm' should be removed at the next Parliament by the advice of the King and the Earl.

Thomas now occupied a more commanding position even than that enjoyed by de Montfort in 1265. Simon was only one of three, and besides them he had a Chief Justiciar as partner in authority; Lancaster had neither to consult.

In the hope that the affairs of the country had at last been placed on a sound basis, the burgesses in Parliament gave a Fifteenth. The knights of the shire granted the service of one 'defensible' man from each township (*villa*), to be equipped and maintained for sixty days of actual service in the field against the Scots, at the cost of the township. At an adjourned session this grant was commuted for a Sixteenth, which yielded £35,407 6s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; while the Fifteenth from the boroughs realized £3,906 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.<sup>1</sup> The clergy intimated their willingness to make a grant if they were allowed to vote the money in 'Convocation'. Under some pressure, the clergy of the Southern Province granted a Tenth in October; and their brethren of the Northern Province followed suit in November. With contributions from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the total reached the handsome sum of £23,016 19s.<sup>2</sup> In return for this bounty the King passed certain *Articuli Cleri* which had been presented in the Parliament.

By this *Concordat* between Church and State the relations of the spiritual and temporal courts were finally settled, the exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction in criminal cases being fully recognized.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of 1316 the famine reached its height. The mistaken Ordinance of the previous year limiting the price of meat was withdrawn, the effect of the measure having simply

<sup>1</sup> Roy. Hist. Soc. sup.; Genesis, I. 80, 81.

<sup>2</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist., II. 356; Genesis, I. 80-82.

been to prevent supplies being brought to market. By Easter the distress reached its height and the mortality with it. Wheat averaged 16s. the quarter. "But the averages fail to give a true impression of the scarcity; as in places as much as 20s. and 26s. was paid for a quarter of wheat . . . altogether . . . at no time in English history has a dearth of such magnitude occurred."<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto Lancaster had had the simple part of opposition and obstruction to play. Now he had to take the lead, and his utter unfitness to profit by the opportunity at once became manifest. On the other hand, Edward could now block his way just as he hitherto had blocked Edward's way. The Scots having made their usual invasion in June, the forces of the country, originally summoned for the 8th July, are adjourned to the 10th August. On the 20th of the month Edward announces an intention of moving North (the Scots having gone home), and orders the Earl 'on his fealty and homage' to present himself at Newcastle by the 6th October. Bowing to this threat, Lancaster appeared at Newcastle. But when the King was called upon to join forces with a view to further advance, Edward, standing on his dignity, said that he could not be expected to follow the lead of a subject; and so remained at York. It was noticed that the Scots in their incursions made a point of sparing Lancaster's estates, evidently regarding him as a covert or possible ally.<sup>2</sup>

For the revenue of the year the Wardrobe Accounts at last appear, and we get for the first time a full return. The Pells showing £54,052 10s. and the Wardrobe £6,058 16s. 11d.; the two together making the modest total of £60,111 6s. 11d.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	54,052	10	0
Wardrobe . . . . .	6,058	16	11
	<hr/>		
	60,111	6	11
	<hr/>		

It may not be amiss here again to point out that our returns of the Wardrobe are not official. The official returns give the gross receipts, including transfers from the Exchequer, which represent sums that have already figured in the Pell Rolls; we deduct these, so that our returns only give the direct receipts from various branches of the Revenue.

<sup>1</sup> Roger, Prices, 198, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 82-83.

## 10 EDWARD II

1316-1317. The year exhibits the same disorganization, with aggravated features. Whatever the King wishes to do, the Earl's men oppose; whatever Lancaster suggests, the King's followers denounce as rank treason. But the ultimate responsibility was held by the chroniclers to rest with the King and his advisers.

In March writs were issued for a Grand Council to meet at Westminster; the King having intimated that he could not be present, Lancaster withheld his presence also. In May the usual writs of military service began to be issued, to be renewed with successive adjournments to the 24th September.

In his distress Edward had been turning to the Papacy, the usual resource of a weak King. Clement V had lent him 169,000 florins (£56,333 6s. 8d.) on a mortgage of all the revenues of Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup> Addressing himself to Clement's successor, John XXII,<sup>2</sup> on a suggestion of a possible concurrence in another Crusade, Edward was at once rewarded with the grant of a Crusade Tenth, being the proceeds of the first of six years' Crusade Tenths voted by the Council of Vienne (1311-1312). At the same time the Pope suspends the raising of any further Crusade Tenth for three years.<sup>3</sup> An embassy commissioned to congratulate the new Pontiff on his accession was instructed to ask for help against Bruce on the one hand, and for help against the King's own subjects—i.e. a Bull to relieve him of his oath to the Ordinances—on the other hand. The Pope withheld the dispensation, but issued letters proclaiming a two years' cessation of hostilities between Edward and 'Robert Bruce styling himself King of Scotland'.

The duty of enforcing the truce and dealing with Bruce was entrusted to the Cardinals Gaucelin d'Euse and Luca dei Fieschi. The eminent pair having reached England, writs were issued for a Grand Council for their due reception in audience. Lancaster again refused to attend, on the plea that questions involv-

<sup>1</sup> The florin was half a mark, 6s. 8d., with as much gold as a modern half-sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> Clement V died 20th April 1314. John XXII was crowned 5th September 1316.

<sup>3</sup> Foedera, II. 319, 320; April 1317.

ing peace or war were matters for the consideration of a full Parliament.

Profiting by the Earl's absence, Edward obtained from the magnates a grant for a year of extra Customs' duties on all commodities. Three weeks later the order had to be rescinded. But the King was not baffled after all. A little later he obtained from an assembly of merchants, native and foreign, leave to exact a double duty on wool, for one year, to be treated as an advance (*mutuum*).<sup>1</sup>

As a final attempt at an understanding, a personal meeting between the King and Thomas was suggested. The proposal, like others of the same sort, came to nothing. In fact the situation had been embittered by a scandal which led to a private war between Thomas and the Earl of Surrey, and nearly ripened into war between Thomas and the King. The King was at York, waiting for the levies ordered for the 24th September. The Earl was at Pontefract, having just captured Surrey's Yorkshire castle. His command of the fords and bridges over the Aire and Calder enabled him to arrest the passage of troops and munitions from the South to York. Once more the King was forced to swallow his mortification and 'make peace'. He disbanded his levies; agreed to call a Parliament to Lincoln for the 27th January 1318; and, in the meantime, issued letters of protection for the Earl and his followers to last over the Parliament. The Earl withdrew his guards from Pontefract bridge, and the King was allowed to begin his march to the South. Amid the jeers of the Lancastrians the baffled monarch rode through the streets of Pontefract. Thomas had already sinned beyond forgiveness; but if there had been any chance of reconciliation in the future, after this incident it was gone (10-22 October).

Ill had it fared with the Cardinals in their efforts to accomplish their mission of peace. On their way to the borders they were held up at Ferryhill, between Darlington and Durham, by Gilbert of Middleton, a knight of good position and a leading brigand. They were allowed to 'pay their footing' and go on to Durham. But their efforts to bring Bruce to terms failed utterly; he was as willing and anxious for 'firm peace' as ever, but could not treat till he was duly recognized as King. Under

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 84-86.

these circumstances the Cardinals had to fall back upon spiritual coercion and Church censures. The Pope's truce was proclaimed at the Cross of St. Paul's, and excommunication denounced against all who should venture to infringe it.<sup>1</sup>

With the liberal grants of the previous year and the Crusade Tenths, the revenue reaches the grand total of £111,664 5s. 0½d., the highest of the reign so far as known. But of course the full totals for more than half of the reign are wanting. The Crusade Tenth contributed £16,758 11s.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	63,271	17	11½
Wardrobe . . . . .	48,392	7	1
	<hr/>		
	111,664	5	0½
	<hr/>		

## 11 EDWARD II

1317-1318. This year again opened amid general helplessness and confusion. Mutual distrust rendered the meeting of the Parliament summoned for the 27th January impossible; it was adjourned to the 12th March. In anticipation, conferences were held between the parties at Leicester, and again in April. But the Earl persisted in requiring full observance (*plenaria observatio*) of the Ordinances, and throughout behaved in the most intransigent attitude, insisting on effect being given to every line of the Ordinances in their fullest issue. Parliament was again adjourned to the 19th June. But Thomas was reckoning without his host. The tide had turned. He had been tried and found wanting. The baronage, ecclesiastical and lay, were rallying round the King. By the month of June the Scots, having made themselves masters of Berwick, were running riot in Yorkshire. Then the Government woke up; Parliament was countermanded, and a general muster called for instead. But a more fruitful measure was a change of Chancellor. Edward, dissatisfied with the management of the Lancaster affair by John Sandale, the Bishop of Winchester, a man originally appointed by the Earl, took the Seal from him, giving it to John Hotham, Bishop of Ely and Treasurer, a tried diplomat. He was immediately sent

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 86-89.



down to confer with the Earl. A series of interviews followed, leading at last to a definite pacification, such as it was.

Lancaster had been brought to realize that an amnesty for himself and his followers would be the most important concession that he could expect. The Ordinances, of course, would be confirmed, and effect given to them by the appointment of a standing Council, mostly of the King's supporters, Lancaster's own weapon being thus turned against him. The final compact took the form of an indenture executed at Leek on the 9th August between the Earl as an independent potentate on one side, and the assembled baronage on the other side. A standing Council to be appointed, four of them to be always in attendance; an absolute pardon to be granted to Lancaster and his followers for all felonies and trespasses committed down to the 25th July then past; the Earl, in return, to remit to such of the King's followers as should desire it all personal grounds of complaint, except as to Earl Warenne. Finally, the Ordinances to be held and observed in all respects. Five days later Lancaster met the King on a bridge over the river Soar, near Loughborough, and received the kiss of peace. The two dined together, and the Earl gave a friendly reception to all the King's circle except Earl Warenne and the elder Despenser.

A further contribution of £2,299 4s. 10d. from the Crusade Tenth helps the revenue.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	65,060	2	5½
Wardrobe . . . . .	23,208	19	8
	<hr/>		
	88,269	2	1½
	<hr/>		

## 12 EDWARD II

1318-1319. For a final confirmation of the pacification a Parliament was arranged to meet at York on the 20th October. It sat to the 9th December, and transacted a considerable amount of general business. For the war against the Scots a general muster was agreed upon, the men to meet at Newcastle on the 10th June 1319.

The year seemed to open under auspices more favourable than

any that the reign had yet seen. An abundant harvest had once more brought cheap bread to the people. With the Scots excommunicated, the King and Lancaster reconciled, and certain measures of reform promised and to a certain extent taken in hand, the country began to hope for better things in the future. On the 6th May a general Parliament met at York. In consideration of the reconciliation of the autumn, and of the reforms in progress, the barons and counties gave an Eighteenth and the boroughs a Twelfth. Together they yielded £36,396.<sup>1</sup> In the previous Parliament the clergy had been asked for a grant, but had refused to give except in Convocation. The Southern Province had been convened accordingly. But then the bishops reported that even so the clergy could not give without leave of the Pope, he having suspended the raising of any further Tenth for three years, as already mentioned. Adam of Muri-muth, the historian, therefore was sent to Avignon, and obtained from John the requisite sanction for the grant of a Tenth. The clergy duly met and granted the Subsidy; but all that appears of the return—if complete—is the miserable sum of £6,953 19s. 8d.

The same apparent concord was exhibited when the levies agreed upon in the autumn gathered round Newcastle about the 22nd July. The proffers of service were satisfactory, even Lancaster condescending to appear. The Muster Rolls show 6,150 footmen, of whom 2,400 were Welshmen, besides 845 hobelers and 83 crossbowmen.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of August the troops were marched to the siege of Berwick. The recovery of Berwick was obviously a matter of primary importance, if only for the protection of the northern counties. The town had been carefully armed and victualled for a siege, under the charge of Bruce's son-in-law, Walter Stewart, the future father of a long line of kings. On the 7th September the English gave their first assault; it was repulsed. After a breathing-space of five days they returned to the charge, without better success.

But with their numerical superiority the place must soon have

<sup>1</sup> L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies, Lay; Genesis, I. 93, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Morris, Roy. Hist. Soc., Third Series, III. 84; and Bain, Calendar of Documents.

been reduced to extremities, had not the concentration of forces round Berwick left the Western March undefended.

No sooner were the English fairly established round Berwick than Randolph and Douglas once more crossed the Border, and without let or hindrance reached Boroughbridge, nearly capturing the Queen. She was removed to Nottingham only just in time.

On the 4th September Edward had word of the inroad, and issued writs for all Yorkshire to turn out under the Archbishop William of Melton and the Chancellor Hotham, now Bishop of Ely. Emulous, perhaps, of the fame won by his great predecessor Thurstan on Cuttenmoor, Melton led a 'lay' force of mingled citizens, priests, and men of religion, with very few military men among them, to intercept the Scottish veterans on their homeward march. On the afternoon of the 20th September the Archbishop found the Scots at Myton-on-Swale, in the angle at the junction of that river with the Ure, the two together forming the York Ouse. At the report of the advance of an enemy, the Scots took post in two circular schiltrums, the usual formation to resist attack. When the motley character of the force was discovered, they kindled fires of hay, to give the impression that they were in retreat, and so to encourage the English to come on. When they were fairly across the ford, the Scots broke their ranks, and springing to their horses charged wildly, and all was over. The action gained the name of the "Chapter of Myton".<sup>1</sup>

The news of this reverse brought the siege of Berwick to an end. Edward himself, to do him justice, wished to stick to the work, but was turned from his purpose by the insidious counsels of Lancaster and his followers. To please them he divided his forces, leading part in one direction in pursuit of the raiders, while the Earl hunted for them in another quarter. Between them the Scots got away safely by Brough and Stanmore. Public discontent at the whole fiasco became very bitter; and Lancaster's conduct was loudly denounced, men pointing to the fact that his estates were still being spared by the Scots.

If Thomas's action was disloyal and treacherous, as beyond doubt it was, it may be said for him that he realized that he never had been and never could be forgiven; especially if, as

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I, 106-108.

was rumoured, the King during the siege had been ill-advised enough to hint that when Berwick was won, his hands would be free for another job.<sup>1</sup>

For the year's revenue the Pells are wanting. But the Customs, Accounts are extant, and they show the big sum of £19,939 4s. The rise must be attributed to the double duties on wool granted two years before.

### 13 EDWARD II

1319-1320. With Michaelmas (1319) *bona fide* negotiations for a truce were at last opened. Both Kings had special reasons for wishing for a suspension of hostilities. Bruce, with all his staunchness, evidently felt the weight of the ecclesiastical censures under which he laboured. In September 1318 the Cardinals had formally proclaimed at St. Paul's that Bruce had incurred final sentence of excommunication, for disregard of the Papal orders. As for Edward, he had been summoned to render homage for Aquitaine and Ponthieu to his brother-in-law, Philip V, "*Le Long*", no homage having been rendered either to him or his short-lived elder brother Louis X, "*Hutin*";<sup>2</sup> a journey to France would be needed, and the King could hardly leave the country if war was going on.

Bruce apparently made the first overture, asking for a truce on behalf of the men of Scotland, thus waiving the question of his recognition. On the 31st December a truce was agreed upon, to last for two years from Christmas, the "*sufferance*", as proclaimed by Edward, being taken between himself on the one part, and "*Sire Robert Bruce and his supporters (ses aerdauntz)* on the other part". To provide for the observance of the armistice, Conservators of the truce, or Wardens of the March were appointed, the first instance of the institution of such offices. But while sheathing the carnal weapon, Edward, rather meanly, at this very time was pressing

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 106-109.

<sup>2</sup> Philip the Fair died in 1314 and was succeeded by his eldest son Louis. He died 5th June 1316, leaving a daughter Jeanne. His brother Philip seized the crown, proclaiming the so-called Salique Law. Edward's recognition of Philip had an important bearing on later pretensions to the Crown of France.

Bruce with the sword of St. Peter, pressing John XXII to continue orders for the excommunication of 'Robert, Earl of Carrick' for the murder of the Comyn.

To make arrangements for the King's visit to France, a Grand Council was held at York in January 1320. Lancaster was summoned, but again declined to appear, objecting, he said, to Parliaments held 'in chambers'.<sup>1</sup> Several ministerial changes were made; John Hotham, the Bishop of Ely, was relieved of the Great Seal, being reserved for diplomatic missions; and John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, became Chancellor instead, while Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, became Treasurer, vice John of Norwich.

On the 19th June Edward embarked at Dover, met Philip at Ponthieu, and after a month of feasting and revelry with his brother-in-law, returned to the port from whence he had sailed.<sup>2</sup>

The grants of the previous year, now coming in, had been most liberal, while the grant of a further Crusade Tenth by the Pope deprived the King of any excuse for asking money from Parliament. The Papal Tenth yielded £16,134 1s. 1d.<sup>3</sup> Comparing this sum with the £6,953 19s. 8d., the yield of the Tenth granted by the clergy the previous year, we find ourselves faced by a mysterious discrepancy. We can only suggest that the Crusade Tenths were not 'relaxed' but exacted on the Nicholas valuation grant.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	70,999	15	6½
Wardrobe . . . . .	33,058	13	5
	<hr/>		
	104,058	8	11½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> "*In cameris*"; Mon. Malm.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 109-111.

<sup>3</sup> L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts.



## 14 EDWARD II

1320-1321. Since the autumn of 1318 Edward had been his own master, affairs being managed for him by Bartholomew of Badlesmere and the two Despensers, and all seemed quiet and happy. But Edward was incapable of profiting by the lessons of experience. He had placed himself in the hands of the younger Despenser, who had taken Gaveston's place in his favour and exercised the same mysterious influence over him that Peter did. The elder Hugh had been the King's steady supporter throughout, and as such had been repeatedly denounced by Lancaster. The son had followed Lancaster till the autumn of 1318; but from that time he appears as siding with the King, the Lancastrian star being then on the wane. As to the merits or demerits of the two Despensers the writers of the time are not quite agreed. On the facts, the hostility to the father appears to have been mainly political. Not so with regard to the son. The complaints of his conduct show that he had grossly abused the hold that he had gotten on the weakness of the King, and unscrupulously used his influence for the furtherance of his own ends. His rapacity involved the crisis of the reign. He was husband of Eleanor, the eldest of the Gloucester heiresses, as already mentioned; Margaret, the second, being married to Hugh of Audley, and Elizabeth or Isabella to Roger of Amory.

In 1317 partition of the great inheritance had been made by arrangement among the parties.<sup>1</sup> But Hugh refused to abide by the compact, and invaded the rights of both his brothers-in-law, dispossessing Amory of Newport in Monmouthshire, and Audley of Thornbury in Gloucestershire. A greater disturbance, however, was raised by proceedings in connexion with the Palatine lordship of Gower, coveted by Despenser. With a view to its acquisition, he impugned a conveyance of the property by its owner, William de Braose, to his son-in-law John Mowbray. Hugh induced the King to consent to an inquest as to alienations by de Braose or his ancestors without royal licence, thereby starting the doctrine that March lands, no more than other lands, could be alienated without the King's leave.

<sup>1</sup> Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 3; cited W. H. Stevenson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII. 756.

This bold attack on the cherished 'March Customs' at once brought all the March lords into line in self-defence. Execution of the order for the inquest was resisted by force.<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1321 war broke out, the Earls of Hereford, Arundel, and Surrey, Mortimer, Audley, and Amory, demanding the dismissal of the younger Despenser, and meanwhile ravaging his estates. In March the King found it necessary to pay a visit to the scene of the disturbances. He advanced as far as Bristol, and would have drawn the sword if he could have reckoned on a sufficient following; as it was, he had to witness the ravaging, in his name, of the estates of his followers. Lancaster, with his usual selfish policy of isolation, kept apart, allowing others to prosecute the war against the Despensers. Altogether estates situated in sixty-nine townships and eighteen counties were alleged to have been plundered.

Unable to quell the disturbances, the King had resigned himself to meeting his Estates. Writs were issued for a Parliament which ultimately was fixed to meet at Westminster on the 15th July (1321).<sup>2</sup>

Converging on London about the 22nd July, the confederates reached St. Albans. They demanded the banishment of the Despensers and amnesty for themselves. Advancing to Waltham, they were refused admission to the City, and had to establish themselves in the 'suburbs', i. e. Holborn, Clerkenwell, Smithfield, and the Temple. Proceedings against the Despensers were instituted in due form in the sitting Parliament. They were charged with 'accouching' to themselves royal authority, and in every way hindering and perverting justice.

A fortnight and more the King twisted and turned, submitting one day and drawing back the next. But he was powerless to resist. The Queen on her knees, imploring him to have mercy on his people,<sup>3</sup> he gave way. On the 14th August he was conducted into Westminster Hall by the two friendly Earls, Pembroke and Richmond, accepted the obeisances of his subjects, and bowed to their terms. On the 19th of the month sentence was passed on the two Despensers. Both were condemned to forfeiture and exile, not to be recalled without the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 112-114.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 115, 116.

<sup>3</sup> "*Pro populo genu flecto orante.*"

sanction of a full Parliament, duly summoned. On the following day full pardons were issued to the Confederates and their followers for all felonies committed in 'pursuing' the Despensers, from the 1st March to the 19th August. Two days later the Parliament broke up.

The elder Despenser submitted calmly to his sentence, and retired to the Continent. Edward escorted him to Harwich. The son was placed by the King in charge of the Cinque Ports shipping, and at once turned the command to account by embarking on a piratical career, for which eventually the King had to pay heavily.<sup>1</sup>

With civil war and confusion the revenue sinks; but the Customs stand at the medium figure of £10,313 19s. 3d.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	40,767	3	4½
Wardrobe . . . . .	25,106	2	8
	<hr/>		
	65,873	6	0½
	<hr/>		

## 15 EDWARD II

1321-1322. In spite of the amnesty, the Confederates must have left London under a painful sense of the insecurity of the position. They had got the better of the King, how long would their triumph last? Edward made no secret of his intentions. But a gratuitous and inexplicable insult offered to the Queen by Lady Badlesmere gave Edward his opportunity. She was in charge of Leeds in Kent, a royal castle, of which Badlesmere was Constable. Isabelle, being on her way to Canterbury, was refused admission, and resisted by force, some of her men being killed (13 October). Badlesmere, far from condemning his wife's action, actually wrote approving of it. His conduct is incomprehensible. He had been particularly trusted and employed by the King, and was at the time Steward of the Household and Warden of the Cinque Ports.<sup>2</sup> Levies were immediately called out; by the end of the month Leeds fell.

But Hereford, Clifford, and Roger Mortimer, who had never

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 117-119.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 120, 121, q.v. for suggestions as to the causes of Badlesmere's action.

really sheathed their swords, advanced as far as Kingston, offering to mediate. Their overtures, however, not being accepted, they retired without further intervention, not feeling equal to a trial of strength with the King, especially without support from Lancaster, who hated Badlesmere. But as they had again ventured to come forward in arms, illegally, in quasi-support of Badlesmere, Edward proceeded to draw the sword against them as simple rebels, without any preliminary 'defiance', or declaration of war. He kept a Christmas in arms at Cirencester, a considerable army having gathered to his standard. His brothers, Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Surrey, and Richmond were all there. On the 28th December he broke up from Cirencester. Repulsed successively by John Giffard at Gloucester, at Worcester, and at Bridgenorth, he at last found the way clear at Shrewsbury. The Mortimers were laying down their arms. They were sent to the Tower; Hugh of Audley was sent to Wallingford; the others fled to the North. In the course of February (1322) the whole March was reduced to order.

Under these circumstances Edward felt himself strong enough to recall his favourites—always his first preoccupation. On the 11th February he announced that the two Despensers would accompany him on an expedition against the Scots.

In spite of continuous negotiations, the truce concluded in December 1319 had not been prolonged beyond the two years agreed upon. By the month of January (1322) Randolph and Douglas were again over the Border.<sup>1</sup> On the 13th February the King named the 28th of the month for a general muster at Coventry.

But the forces called out for action against the Scots had to be turned against his own subjects. Lancaster had probably intrigued with the Scots before; but a formal treaty of offensive and defensive alliance as between the Scots on the one hand, and Lancaster, Hereford, and the Confederates on the other hand, had been concluded. On the strength of this alliance the northern barons had broken into open revolt, laying siege to Tickhill; while Lancaster was preparing for a march to the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 121-124.

South. All too late, the time for effective action was past, the strength of the Confederacy having already been broken. Advancing to Burton, Thomas found himself within striking distance of the royal forces, but suddenly losing heart, 'turned and fled.' From Burton he was chased to Tutbury, and from Tutbury on past Pontefract, till he reached Boroughbridge. There he found Andrew Harclay, the Constable of Carlisle, facing him on the Ure, and prepared to hold the crossing against him (16 March). Adopting Scottish tactics, Andrew had dismounted all his men, posting the men-at-arms with some spearmen to hold the end of the foot-bridge, a long narrow timber structure, while the bulk of his men were arrayed *en schiltrum* to hold the adjacent ford against the cavalry. Pressing along the foot-bridge, Hereford, his standard-bearer, and three other knights fell promptly speared to death. Lancaster and his knights, quailing before the arrowy shower from the other bank, never entered the water. Helpless and dismayed, he asked for a truce to the morrow, and Harclay granted it. Under the circumstances one would expect to find the precious hours conceded by Harclay utilized for instant flight to Scotland. Not a bit of it. Unable to realize their situation, Lancaster and his barons sat still till the morning, when the Sheriff of Yorkshire appeared, cutting off all possibility of escape. Six days later the great Earl was arraigned in his own castle of Pontefract in the King's presence, condemned without being allowed one word in self-defence, and executed. Six barons taken with him shared his fate. Altogether some five-and-twenty barons and knights suffered. The proscription was unparalleled. Fines to the amount of £15,000 were also exacted.<sup>1</sup>

On the 2nd May a session of Parliament was opened at York. The great business of the session was the repeal of the Ordinances, the work of the Lancastrian party. The whole were cancelled at one stroke, as 'blemishing' the Royal sovereignty and estate of the Crown. But the Despensers, while hastening to get rid of the trammels of the Ordinances, were anxious to disclaim on the part of the King any intention of ruling tyrannically. A further set of Ordinances of the King's own, duly passed with the assent of the Estates, were published, confirming

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs ; Genesis, I. 124-127.



sundry popular measures, and notably those concerning Purveyance, Prises, and the jurisdictions of the Steward and the Marshal.

Edward was not distinctively a tyrant. His crying sins were neglect of business and contempt for the duties and responsibilities of his station. The elder Despenser was rewarded for his services by promotion to the Earldom of Winchester, while Andrew Harclay became Earl of Carlisle. The grant of one man-at-arms from each township for the war against the Scots made up the total of business transacted.

In April John XXII, at Edward's urgent request, granted him Tenths for two years for the war against the Scots, thus becoming an indirect participator in the war. The Tenths would be paid half yearly at Martinmas and Ascension Day. With this to face them, the Canterbury Convocation in June were content to offer fivepence on the mark (13s. 4d.), a modest offering that should yield say £636 1s. 3d.

The repeal of the Ordinances was held to revive the right to levy the *Nova Custuma*, abrogated by the Ordinances in 1311. The King also obtained from the foreign merchants for one year an advance on wool corresponding to that obtained in 1317.<sup>1</sup> The sum came to £4,763 6s. 11d. With this bonus, and an extraordinary return from the wine duties, the Customs of the following year will be found to show the unequalled sum of £24,285 3s. 11d.

Parliament over, the King turned his attention to the Scottish war. But he did not appear at Newcastle till the 1st August. The Muster Rolls show 4,439 English foot, 6,460 Welsh, and 525 hobelers, 11,424 all told.<sup>2</sup> Three weeks later the King began his advance, resting at Melrose, and two days later in Edinburgh, from whence he moved to Leith and Musselburgh. Bruce had retired behind the Forth, having previously cleared the country of everything movable. On the English side commissariat arrangements had utterly failed. Within a fortnight hunger and sickness forced them to fall back in calamitous retreat.

For the revenue, the returns are the last full totals that we shall be able to give, the Wardrobe Accounts for the rest of the reign failing.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 128-130.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Morris, *sup.*

## Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	28,091	8	3½
Wardrobe . . . . .	49,920	4	3
	<hr/>		
	78,011	12	6½
	<hr/>		

## 16 EDWARD II

1322-1323. From writs issued in September we learn that the King purposed remaining at Newcastle during the autumn and winter, to guard the frontier; with the summer he would once more attack the Scots, to make a final end of their presumption. He calls for a muster by the 17th October. But Bruce had already crossed the Solway and sent the bulk of his forces on an audacious expedition right across England, to ravage the Cleveland hills on the east coast, virgin soil, hitherto untouched. In 1319 the country had been much agitated because the Queen had been in some danger of falling into the hands of the Scots. Now the King himself was only saved from that fate by hasty and ignominious flight. On the 13th October he rested at Rievaulx Abbey, his men occupying an eminence on the road, to face the Scots approaching from Byland. The position was a strong one, but the Scottish attack was so resolute that the English were driven from it with heavy loss. John of Brittany, the Earl of Richmond, was taken prisoner, while Edward, with the Earl of Kent and the younger Despenser, had to save themselves by precipitate flight from Rievaulx to the Priory of Bridlington on the sea coast.<sup>1</sup> The King's Privy Seal again fell into Bruce's hands, having suffered the same fate at Bannockburn.

On the 14th November a Parliament was opened at York. The counties gave a Tenth, the boroughs and ancient demesnes a Sixth. The clergy, when asked to contribute, refused on the ground of the biennial Tenths already granted by the Pope. The Tenth from the counties yielded £36,709 16s. 1d.; the Sixth, £5,664 9s. 9d.<sup>2</sup>

The deplorable state of the northern counties, left year after

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 131-133.

<sup>2</sup> Engl. Hist. Rev. sup. from L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts.

year at the mercy of the Scots, prompted Andrew Harclay to venture on the bold step of attempting to force the King's hand by contracting a private league of peace with Bruce. On the 3rd of January 1323 he had an interview with Robert at Lochmaben, and entered into a treaty with him on the footing of the complete independence of Scotland. The signatories bound themselves not only to help and defend all willing to concur, but also to 'confound' all not so disposed. The common folk welcomed a scheme that promised deliverance from their sufferings, but men of position shrank from it. Edward, very naturally, regarded Harclay's proceedings as mere treason. An order for his arrest was immediately issued. Edward, not content with appointing a special political commission to try the Earl, with characteristic contempt for legal and constitutional formalities, sent the judges—cut and dried—the exact words of the sentence that they were to pass. Harclay met his fate with the utmost fortitude, declaring that he meant no disloyalty to the King.<sup>1</sup>

But the unfortunate Earl had not thrown away his life in vain. The movement in favour of peace became irresistible. The Despensers had shown themselves not less incapable of defending the country than Thomas of Lancaster. On the 14th March (1323) Edward signed a truce to allow of negotiations. On the 30th May he consented to sign a truce for thirteen years as between his subjects and supporters on the one side, and those of 'Sire Robert de Brus' on the other side. Bruce, however, in signing the treaty, was careful to sign as "*Nous Robert roi d'Escoce*", and with that wording the document was entered on the Rolls.<sup>2</sup> The reader must not suppose that free intercourse between the two nationalities would ensue. It was expressly forbidden. Merchant strangers might come and go, but no native might cross the frontier without a pass.

With the Truce of Newcastle the Scottish war of independence comes to an end. When hostilities are resumed, it will be for the furtherance, not of national, but of private ends and interests. The year 1323 found Edward almost without a trustworthy friend among his subjects. Opposition to the Despensers, cowed for a moment by the triumph of Boroughbridge, soon

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 134, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, 524.

began to gather strength. A King, men said, was all right, but three Kings were intolerable.<sup>1</sup> Edward seemed to earn no gratitude for favours shown. Irritation mingled with contempt was probably the chief feeling entertained towards him. Till now his chief safeguard had been the lack of any fitting leader for the Opposition. On the night of 1st-2nd August Roger Mortimer of Wigmore escaped from the Tower, and got away to Flanders. His successful flight was due to careful arrangements made by Adam of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, a very able man, a follower of the Queen.

By an ominous coincidence, the week that brought Edward the news of Mortimer's escape witnessed the landing of an embassy from France, charged with the duty of summoning him to render homage for Aquitaine and Ponthieu. On the 3rd January 1322 Philip V, "*Le Long*", of France died, leaving four daughters. His brother Charles IV, "*Le Bel*", putting aside Philip's daughters, as Philip had put aside Louis Hutin's daughter, ascended the throne, and was duly hallowed on the 2nd February. The reader will again notice the bearing of these successions on future claims to the Crown of France through female lines.

Edward's government in Gascony was as weak, and regarded with as much contempt as his rule at home. Presuming on his weakness, the Seneschals of Toulouse, Cahors, and Périgueux had been invading the jurisdiction of the Seneschal of Bordeaux, claiming the primary cognizance of cases that ought not to have come before them except by way of appeal. A more serious question had been raised by the establishment of a *bastide* or fort at Saint-Serdos in the Agenais, a place claimed by the French as an *enclave* in English territory.

The homage was due, of course. But the summons, it appears, was irregular, not being uttered on soil appertaining to the Crown of France, and the younger Despenser did his utmost to avoid accepting service of the irregular citation. But the French envoy had it formally proclaimed, and procured a notarial instrument witnessing the fact.<sup>2</sup>

For the revenue, the Wardrobe Accounts have come to an end, but between the gracious concessions of the Pope and the

<sup>1</sup> See G. Baker, ed. Thompson, 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 140, 141.

liberality of the November Parliament of 1322, the Pell Rolls alone return the grand sum of £99,647 6s. 8½*d.*, their highest of the reign. Allowing the average sum of £30,000 shown by our Table C for the missing Wardrobe Account, we should again get a return of £129,000 and upwards. Our Customs also show the highest total of the reign, namely £24,285 3s. 11*d.* But reference to our Table will show that this was partly due to a forced loan of £4,763 6s. 11*d.*, and partly to duties on wine to the amount of £555 17*s.*, not found before.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	99,647	6	8½
Wardrobe, say . . . . .	30,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	129,647	6	8½
	<hr/>		

## 17 EDWARD II

1323-1324. The state of relations with France, and the answers to be given to the French demands, furnished the most urgent matter for the consideration of a Parliament that met at Westminster on the 23rd February 1324. Envoys were named to discuss the time and place to be appointed for the homage render, and inquiry as to the outrages alleged to have been committed at Saint-Serdos, where an attack had been made on the *bastide*, and the French flag pulled down. On the 9th April (1324) the ambassadors left London.

But difficulties with France were rapidly increasing. The envoys, on reaching Paris, were met with formal demands for the cession of Montpezat with other requirements. The envoys were inclined to yield, and the Pope urged the same course. But Edward refused; the surrender of an integral part of the Duchy would expose him to be stripped of his dominions piecemeal. The King's argument was sound enough. Unfortunately it lacked the support of that material basis on which, in matters political, all reasoning must rest.

Charles at once seized Ponthieu, and sent an army to the South under his uncle Charles of Valois, a notorious Anglophobe. Edward, while attempting to shuffle and negotiate, found him-



self called upon to raise forces for an expedition to Aquitaine, which was in no position to defend itself. All the usual measures were taken: shipping ordered, commissions of array issued, distraint of knighthood enforced against all men holding over £40 a year in land. On the 18th September an armament was finally sent off to support the Earl of Kent, who had been appointed King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine. But the relief came all too late. Aquitaine was already lost. In August the Count of Valois had entered Cahors and Agen; the Earl of Kent then fell back on the historic fortress of La Réole. For five weeks he held Charles at bay; at last under threat of a storming assault he capitulated, signed a truce (22 September 1324), and retired to Bordeaux. Once more Bordeaux with Bayonne and Saint-Séver represented the English Dominion.<sup>1</sup>

Edward, infuriated at his reverses, found vent for his wrath in a general persecution of all French people to be found in England, beginning with his wife. Her native attendants were dismissed, her estates taken into hand, and she herself put on an allowance of £1 a day. As a crowning humiliation she was placed under the surveillance of Lady Despenser, who was given the keeping of her seal. The public, anxious to shield the King, ascribed the attack on the Queen to the younger Hugh, who was all-powerful, his father having fallen into the background since 1322. But Edward shirked no responsibility in the matter, testing the writs of confiscation with his own hand.

For the revenue, no grants had been made during the year. But with the overflowing of previous concessions, the Pells alone return £70,736 11s., a sum distinctly above the average. Again allowing £30,000 for the missing Wardrobe Account, we would get a revenue exceeding £100,000.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	70,736	11	0
Wardrobe, say . . . .	30,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	100,736	11	0
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 142-144.

## 18 EDWARD II

1324-1325. On the 24th October a Parliament was held in the Tower, a novel place of meeting. Under Henry III the barons had refused to trust themselves within its walls. No supply was voted, but the King claimed to have obtained sanction for military preparations; and accordingly issued writs for some 16,000 men of all arms to meet at Portsmouth, in March 1395, always of course at his 'wages'. In the meantime, however, out of respect for Papal envoys sent to mediate for peace, he gave grudging orders for a truce—but a truce at sea only, while commissioning ambassadors to treat of peace.

The negotiations making little progress, it was suggested at the French Court that if Isabelle were allowed to come over, the prospect of a satisfactory solution would be greatly facilitated, and that Charles would certainly grant good terms of peace.

Both the Papal and the Royal envoys pressed Edward to consent. John XXII, himself a Frenchman, approved—if the suggestion had not in fact originated with him. The Queen herself was only too ready to escape from the humiliations to which she was exposed in her husband's Court. The Opposition supported the proposal. Edward saw the danger of entrusting his wife to the enemy's camp. He might have gone over in person, as he had done before. But the Despensers were afraid either to go with him, or remain without him. Driven into a corner, and forced to reap as he had sown, the wretched monarch, with undisguised reluctance, gave his consent. Isabelle took an affectionate leave of her husband and his Court, and blithe as a bird escaped from the net of the fowler, sped across the Channel (9th March 1325).<sup>1</sup>

An extension of the truce was the only concession that the Queen could obtain from her brother.

Charles understood his advantages and meant to make the most of them. Edward was required to make a virtual surrender of his possessions in 'the Duchy of Guienne' to the King of France, by authorizing him to appoint a seneschal to rule in his name; all English troops to retire to Bayonne; Edward to

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 146-147.

render homage in person, and, apparently, in unrestricted terms. That done, Charles would reinstate the King of England, save as to territories recently occupied by the French. These hard terms were accepted by the English envoys, and ratified by Edward (13th June).

The scheme of the treaty was a simple repetition of the snare with which Edmund of Lancaster and Edward I had been beguiled in 1293.

The personal render of homage by the King was the basis of the whole treaty. A Grand Council, summoned for the purpose, approved of his going. Preparations for his journey were kept up, as if in earnest, till the latter part of August. On the 24th of the month Edward writes to Charles that a sudden attack of illness prevents his coming. Driven to extremity, the favourites had bethought them of a plan. The King might confer Gascony and Ponthieu on his son, Edward Earl of Chester; and Charles might be induced to accept the homage of his nephew. The Queen, of course, welcomed the proposal, and Charles readily acceded to it. But in England it was viewed with great disfavour. Charles might entangle the heir apparent in some undesirable marriage, or otherwise utilize him for his own ends. But the Despensers were not to be turned; their lives were at stake, and Edward, out of concern for their safety, to his credit be it said, stood by them.

On the 2nd September the young Earl of Chester was invested with Ponthieu, and a week later with Aquitaine. On the 12th September he crossed from Dover, and about the 21st of the month rendered the homage in the Bois de Vincennes, near Paris.<sup>1</sup>

All the requirements of the treaty on his part complied with, Edward began to press for the return of his wife and son. She answered frankly that she would not return to his Court as long as Despenser was there; meanwhile she had been offered a home by her brother; the Prince would remain with her.

The fact was that Isabelle had found in Paris a lover and a champion in Roger Mortimer, and that plans were being laid for the overthrow of the Government at home. Most of the King's agents, even his half-brother the Earl of Kent, and his

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 148, 150.

cousin the Earl of Richmond, had, more or less, given in to the plot.

But, wrong-headed and unworthy as Edward was, it is impossible not to feel for him under the circumstances. Deserted by his wife, robbed of his son, surrounded by self-seeking servants and treacherous advisers, he was left alone. Nevertheless it does not seem too much to say that had he, even now, at the eleventh hour, been capable of learning wisdom; had he had the resolution to dismiss the Despensers and take ministers acceptable to his subjects, Edward would probably have been able to save both his friends and himself. Wedded to his own ways, the obstinate booby fell.<sup>1</sup>

For the year's revenue the Pells alone have a return of £62,357 os. 5*d.* For the missing Wardrobe we may again allow £30,000; with this we shall get a total approaching £100,000.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	62,358	0	5
Wardrobe, say . . . . .	30,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	92,358	0	5
	<hr/>		

## 19 EDWARD II

Michaelmas, 1325-1326. The Queen's refusal to come home was communicated to a full Parliament that met at Westminster on the 18th November. The King addressed the assembly, and assured them that the Queen could not have had any reason to complain of the younger Hugh, as she had taken so pleasant and friendly a leave of him. All that the lieges could suggest was a joint letter by the bishops to the Queen urging her to return. Authority, however, was taken for arming the coasts in view of impending invasion.

Across the Channel Isabelle was prosecuting her schemes. In answer to the letter drafted in Parliament, she writes to Archbishop Reynolds that her sole cause for refusing to return is the 'bodily peril' in which she would find herself under the rule of the younger Hugh, who has the King in his hands. Otherwise

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 150-152.

'she could wish for nothing better than to live and die in the company of her dear lord' (5 February 1326).<sup>1</sup>

But Isabelle's relations with Mortimer were becoming notorious, and creating a scandal. She had to move from Paris first to Ponthieu, and from thence to the Flemish border. In the Cambresis she received a visit from John of Hainault, an experienced soldier, brother to William II of Avesnes, the reigning Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault. The Count had four daughters to dispose of, while Isabelle had a very eligible son. It was soon arranged that the young Duke of Aquitaine should be engaged to Philippa (*Philippe*) second daughter of the Count, while Isabelle in return would receive a military outfit for a landing in England (March).

The connexion with Holland was not at all contrary to English interests, the Dutch being friendly allies.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the spring and summer England was kept in a state of irritation and alarm by the King's measures for guarding against the invasion that now seemed no longer doubtful. Again and again men are called on to be ready to turn out, but they never are called out. Edward could not trust the baronial retainers.

At last, on the 2nd and 3rd September he issued writs ordering shipping with the modest force of 500 men to be sent to the Orwell by the 21st of the month. On the 23rd of the month Isabelle sailed from Dordrecht, and next day landed in the Orwell opposite Harwich. In her train came young Edward, the King's half-brother the Earl of Kent, Roger Mortimer, John de Ros, Henry of Beaumont, and John of Hainault, the last in command of a substantial body of mercenaries.

The fleet that should have guarded the coast had taken care to keep out of the way.

The King, who had been keeping watch on the south coast, came up to Westminster on the 22nd September, the day before Isabelle's landing. On learning of that event, he thought it prudent to retire to the Tower, which had been put in order and victualled. From that stronghold he issued proclamations, contradicting reports issued by Isabelle, denouncing her

<sup>1</sup> " *Pur le peril de nostre corps eschuer* " ; Scriptores Decem C. 2768.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 152-154.



purpose as being simply that of his 'disherison' and 'subjection to others'. He called for the 'destruction' of her and all her company, except herself, his son, and the Earl of Kent. Edward does not suggest that the Queen intended to depose him. Apparently the worst that he feared was a fresh scheme of Ordinances to be strictly enforced. His appeals fell on deaf ears; not a soul would raise a hand on his behalf, while Isabelle was promptly joined by the King's other half-brother, Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk; by his cousin Henry "Wryneck", Earl of Lancaster; and a whole string of bishops, headed by Orleton of Hereford.

From Walton Castle on the Orwell Isabelle advanced to Bury, Cambridge, and Hertford, her march becoming a triumphal procession. An attempt by Archbishop Reynolds to stay the flowing tide by publishing old Bulls of excommunication against 'disturbers of the peace' was so ill received by the Londoners, that the King found it prudent to leave town altogether, and made his way to Wallingford (October 2-7). The Queen made a dash to catch him at Wallingford, but, warned in time, he escaped to Gloucester, and never halted till he had crossed the Severn. On the 14th October he signs at Tintern. Of the higher baronage only the Earls of Surrey and Arundel kept with him.

On the 15th October, under the instigation of handbills issued by the Queen, the London mob rose, and compelled the helpless Mayor to proclaim the expulsion of all enemies of 'King, Queen, and their son'. The house of one John Marshal, one of Despenser's underlings, was attacked; he was dragged out and beheaded in Cheapside. Bishop Stapledon of Exeter, ex-Chancellor, was caught riding through the streets; he was unhorsed, carried to the cross in Cheapside and likewise beheaded. Next day the Tower was attacked, and the Constable, John Weston, forced to deliver John of Eltham, the King's younger son, who had been left in nominal charge of the place. He was sworn to make common cause with "*le commune*".

Following the tracks of her husband Isabelle advanced to Gloucester, where her forces were strengthened by the accession of Percy, Wake, and other lords from the Marches and the North. On the 26th October she reached Bristol; the elder Hugh, Earl

of Winchester, was in command. He had no alternative but to open his gates, and the Queen took possession. Edward was reported to be attempting to escape to Ireland. The King having thus deserted his post, the way was open for the promotion of his son. The young Duke of Aquitaine was immediately proclaimed Warden (*Custos*) of the Realm, to hold office so long as his father should be absent. The appointment received the sanction of the assembled magnates, but by this proceeding the Queen had shown her hand, and the ultimate ends of the expedition were indicated.

Next day the Earl of Winchester was arraigned before a commission of magnates, condemned as a traitor, banished by Parliament, and recalled without leave. As Thomas of Lancaster had not been allowed to open his mouth in self-defence, so neither would he be allowed to speak. From judgment he was sent straightway to execution.<sup>1</sup>

The King's attempt at escape failed. Driven back by foul winds, he landed at Cardiff, and moved about the parts of Glamorgan, finally seeking shelter among the native Welsh. For six days he remained lost to the outer world.

Determined to run her husband down, Isabelle sent out Henry of Lancaster<sup>2</sup> supplied with means for negotiating with the natives with whom the King had taken refuge. On the 16th November Edward was delivered to the Earl at Llantrissant. Taken along with the King were the younger Despenser, Robert Baldock the Keeper of the Seal, and one Simon of Reading; minor attendants were dismissed in peace. Despenser was immediately arraigned before a high commission as his father had been, and condemned as a traitor, and again without being allowed to open his mouth. Robert Baldock, as an ecclesiastic, was not amenable to the same treatment; he was sent to London, was thrust into Newgate by the mob, and died there.<sup>3</sup>

The King having returned to his 'dominions', the authority of the Warden would be at an end, and all orders would have to run in the King's name. It was therefore necessary to get possession of the Great Seal that Edward had contrived to keep in his own hands. Accordingly, the unblushing Orlton was sent to Monmouth where the King was, to relieve him of the talisman.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 155-158.

Son of Thomas.      <sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 158-160.

Of course, the helpless monarch had no option but to surrender it, to be used by his wife and son at their discretion (20 November). From Monmouth Edward was sent under the charge of his cousin Henry to Kenilworth, a Leicester possession, that further honour having been conferred on young Lancaster.

The first use of the Great Seal made by Isabelle was to summon a Parliament to ratify and complete the work of the revolution. On the 3rd December writs were issued for a session to meet on the 7th July 1327.

When business was opened, it would seem that the King's absence was commented on. Bishop Orleton, who, as the Queen's right-hand man and the soul of the conspiracy, led the proceedings, answered with the old calumny that Isabelle's life would not be safe in her husband's hands. Finally, coming to the point, he put it to the assembly whether they would have the father or the son to rule over them. With that he adjourned them to the morrow, to think over the matter. Next day he repeated the question. The King's friends, overawed by a mob of unbidden citizens that had invaded the assembly, held their peace; only the Queen's partisans ventured to speak. A general declaration in favour of the son was thus obtained. The young Duke was then brought in, homage was rendered to him, and he was shown to the people in Westminster Hall, 'Behold your King!' Only four prelates had the courage to refuse allegiance to him, namely, William of Melton, Archbishop of York; Nicholas Segrave, Bishop of London; Haymo Heath of Rochester; and John de Ross of Carlisle.

The son had thus been set up, but the father "had neither resigned nor been deposed".<sup>1</sup> It was agreed that Orleton and John Stratford, Bishop of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> should be sent to request the King's attendance in Parliament, to concur in some 'just and suitable arrangement with respect to the Crown'; i.e. some act of abdication in favour of his son. The two went to Kenilworth and saw the King. Dull and slow of comprehension, even now he failed to realize the situation. He refused to listen to the

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> John Stratford, a clerk of the Council, having been sent to Avignon to bespeak the See of Winchester for John Baldock, the Keeper of the Seal, obtained it for himself.

bishops' reasoning, cursed them as traitors, and drove them from his presence.<sup>1</sup>

On the 12th January (1327), the two reported to Parliament the failure of their mission. More vigorous action on the Queen's part thus became necessary. On the 13th Stratford boldly published, as a resolution of the Parliament, a self-styled "Accord" for crowning young Edward, with Articles of impeachment against the father. As justification for the act, Orlton followed with a sermon on the text "*Rex insipiens perdet populum suum*", dwelling on Edward's deficiencies, till the excited audience cried 'Away with him!' In the afternoon, as if to get up a cry for 'the young King and our old Franchises', Roger Mortimer went down to the Guildhall with Reynolds of Canterbury and a string of bishops, when a preposterous oath was administered to all, pledging them to stand by Isabelle Queen of England and 'Edward now (*ore*) King of England', and to save and keep the franchises of the City of London. Finally, on the 15th, popular feeling having been brought to the proper pitch, "the wretched Archbishop Reynolds" summed up with a discourse on the theme "*Vox populi vox Dei*"; proclaiming the fact that 'by universal consent, the elder Edward had been deposed, and his son appointed to succeed him'. The reader will see the amount of beating up found necessary.

But, still to secure the position of the chief actors in the dangerous game, it was held advisable to obtain by whatever means the abdication of the actual King. For that purpose a fresh deputation of bishops, earls, barons, and representatives of all classes, twenty-four men in all, was sent to Kenilworth. Stratford and Burgersh of Lincoln had a preliminary interview with Edward in his inner chamber, in the presence of Henry "Wryneck", his keeper. They coaxed him on the one hand with promises of undiminished respect and honour if he would abdicate in favour of his son; while, on the other hand, they pressed him with threats of rejecting his line entirely if he should still hold out.

Weeping and sobbing,<sup>2</sup> for the sake of his son and the peace of the realm, Edward gave in. Robed in sable, he was then taken

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 160-162.

<sup>2</sup> "*Non sine singultibus lacrimis et suspiriis*"; Baker, 27.



to face the deputation, arranged in the outer chamber, in due order of precedence, each man according to his dignity. At the sight of the hostile array, without one friendly face among them, the King broke down utterly, sinking in a fainting fit. Stratford and Leicester hastened to his assistance. When Edward had sufficiently recovered himself, Orlton took up his parable, again propounding the dismal alternatives of resignation or deposition. With fresh groans and tears<sup>1</sup> at the thought that the people should so hate and reject him, Edward ended by saying that if his son was more acceptable they might have him for their king.

Next day the delegation renounced their homages, and Thomas Blount, the Steward of the Household, broke his staff of office as a token that the reign of the Second Edward had come to an end. On the 25th January the new King's Peace was proclaimed, and the reign of Edward, son of Edward, son of Edward, was held to have begun.<sup>2</sup>

For the last full year of the reign, the 19th, Michaelmas 1325-1326, the revenue on the Pells stands at £48,278 18s. 8d.

The reign is a dismal one, but it has considerable interest from the constitutional point of view. However revolutionary their action, all parties are careful to use constitutional language, and, as far as possible, to observe constitutional forms. Throughout the reign we are constantly hearing of Parliamentary action. Every revolution is sanctioned and ratified by a Parliament. By Parliament Gaveston is banished, and the Despensers are successively banished and recalled; Parliament is asked to sanction the confiscation of the estates of the fallen Lancastrians; finally, Parliament sets up a new King, if it does not formally depose the old one. Each political party as it gains the upper hand uses Parliament as its instrument. This enduring feature of our system we take to be the distinctive mark of the reign. Professor Tout takes Administrative Reform as the determining place of the reign in history.<sup>3</sup> Both may have made progress simultaneously.

<sup>1</sup> "*Cum fletu et ejalatu*"; id.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 162-164. For the scene at Kenilworth we have a report derived from the account of one who was on the deputation, Thomas de la Mare, penned in French and translated by Baker, 27.

<sup>3</sup> See his work, *Chapters of Administrative History*.



Our researches do not bear out the view of previous writers that Edward's difficulties were chiefly financial, and that his revenue was insufficient. In fact he had no reason to complain of any want of liberality on the part of his subjects. His offences were rather against the higher baronage than against the lesser folk. The common people were not oppressed or ill-treated; there were no poll-taxes; the men called out for military service were always at the King's pay; the only attempt at levying a tallage broke down utterly.

Edward appears to have enjoyed a handsome revenue, but the defective state of the accounts makes a full statement impossible. The Wardrobe Accounts are only available for seven years out of the nineteen, and for one of those seven years the Pells also are wanting. But for the six full years the combined accounts give a total in round numbers of £83,831; whereas we found £67,000 as the average return of the previous reign.

A comparison of our Tables for this reign with those of the previous reign will show that for the first eight years of the son's reign, when the Wardrobes are wanting, the Pell receipts alone exceed the combined Pell and Wardrobe receipts of the corresponding years of the father's time. His highest total for any one of those years was £46,000; while the son's in different years rose to £69,000, £77,000, and £98,000.

The extant Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II show an average of £30,000 a year. The extant Pells for the years when the Wardrobes fail show an average of £61,000; adding the £30,000 for the Wardrobe's average, we should get a conjectural estimate of a possible £91,000 a year.

I. To take the several branches of the revenue, beginning with the hereditary landed possessions and other sources of income connected with the Crown or flowing from its prerogatives, we have not got an analysis of the yield of these for any year of this reign. But we have an analysis of the revenues of the 20th of Edward III (1345-1346),<sup>1</sup> where we find these including County and Borough Farms, Wardships, Escheats, Fines, Vacant Sees, Hanaper in Chancery, Mint and Exchange, and 'Priorities

<sup>1</sup> See Genesis, II. 85, 102.

Alien', bringing in £15,723 17s. 7d. But something extraordinary must have happened to account for so abnormal a return. Looking backward to the sums to be found under former reigns, and forward to the sums to be found under Richard II, we will assume an average of £20,000.

II. Lay Subsidies. Turning to our Table A, the reader will see that during his nineteen years Edward received from Parliament six Subsidies, say one in every three years, with a total amounting to £232,243 8s. 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. Spreading this sum over the nineteen years of the reign, we get, in round numbers, something over £12,000 a year as a contribution to the conjectural average £91,000.

III. Clerical Subsidies. Of these our Table B will show that besides Loans, Benevolences, and minor grants, Edward received either from the clergy or the Popes, eleven Tenths, the contributions altogether yielding £203,297 4s. 3d. Divided by nineteen, we get a further £11,000 towards the yearly revenue. It will be noted that the King got a Tenth every other year, and in fact something oftener.

IV. Customs. The rates of duty remained unaltered as established in 1303, save as to the petty *Nova* or *Parva Custuma*, only exigible from foreigners. As we have seen, it was originally granted by an assembly of merchants, without Parliamentary sanction, and on that ground was suspended at Stamford in 1309, reimposed by Edward in 1310, abrogated by the Ordainers in 1311, and finally sanctioned in 1322.

In 1307, as we have seen, the King managed to get from the Merchant Vintners of Aquitaine a concession of the *Nova Custuma* (3s. 4d. on the sack of wool and 6s. 8d. on the last of leather), also a duty of 2s. on the tun of wine, till then only subject to a duty of 8d. the tun.

Turning to our Table D, the reader will see that the yearly totals shown run from £10,000 to £12,000, rising in one case to £19,172 3s. 2d.; and in another case to £24,285 3s. 11d. In the latter case it is explained that the inflation was due to loans exacted in anticipation of duties, and to arrears of wine dues. The excess amount in the other case may safely be attributed to similar operations. Our accounts may not be quite full; but they are compiled from the accounts of the individual

collectors, and so far are more trustworthy than the accounts compiled from the Treasury returns, which may have been operated on by assignments. Not so the accounts of the collectors of Customs, where, of course, credit has to be taken for all payments. Altogether we get an average contribution of £12,600. In the early years of Edward I the Customs ran from £10,000 to £12,000 a year, rising at the last to £28,462.

Putting together our legitimate sources of revenue we stand thus :

	£	s.	d.
Hereditary, say . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Lay Subsidies . . . . .	12,000	0	0
Clerical Subsidies . . . . .	11,000	0	0
Customs . . . . .	12,600	0	0
	<hr/>		
	55,600	0	0
	<hr/>		

Thus we seem to get £55,600 towards our conjectural £91,000, leaving £35,400 to be supplied by loans or other undiscovered resources.

But we have already seen that Edward at times had to borrow considerable sums of money. We find Antonio Passagno commissioned at one time to raise £20,000 for the King's use, and 20,000 marks for him at another time. Again, Clement V was understood to have advanced 169,000 gold florins on a mortgage of Gascony.<sup>1</sup> The gold florin of the time contained the same weight of gold as our half-sovereigns do; but as it was worth about 6s. 8d. the loan would be equal to £56,333 6s. 8d. of our money. But on the whole the borrowings were on a much smaller scale than during the previous reign; and the sums borrowed appear for the most part to have been repaid. In fact, the King's extravagance lay not in his personal expenditure—grooms and watermen could be entertained at moderate expense—but in reckless alienations of Crown property, more *Terrae Datae*.

Still Edward did leave debts to a not inconsiderable amount. As a young man he certainly had been extravagant; £23,000 of debt incurred by him as Prince of Wales was paid off early in the reign, with £11,800 left owing by his father. But, according to the accounts that have come down to us, as King he did not

<sup>1</sup> Archaeologia, above.

keep an extravagant Household, the domestic expenditure averaging only £10,000-£11,000 a year. For the whole year, July 1316 to July 1317, we have £12,392 expended, besides £842, the pay of the King's Foot Guards. For the 11th and 12th years (1317-1318 and 1318-1319) the amounts sink to £10,437 and £8,310 respectively.<sup>1</sup> To the weekly, or rather the daily bills, however, should be added the sums paid for clothing and arms stored at the Great Wardrobe at Blackfriars. Between April and October 1316 the money paid under this head came to £7,951 os. 6½*d.* For later years from £900 to £1,000 a year seems to have sufficed. But even with this addition the expenditure of Edward's Household would not approach that of his father, which we found to average £15,000 a year and upwards.<sup>2</sup>

It is not so clear that the Queen was economical in her habits. A Memorandum on a Roll of Accounts of the 10th year tells us that on the 1st December 1316 the King at Scroby gave the Queen a charge for 11,000 marks (£7,333 6s. 8*d.*) a year, for her household expenses and otherwise; and we find £2,526 6s. 8*d.* paid to her on account during the half-year. On the other hand, we hear that apart from the Queen the King could live for five weeks on £135 6s. 6*d.*, or £27 1s. 3*d.* a week;<sup>3</sup> less than the sum allowed to Berkeley for Edward's keep after his abdication.

\* In the matter of the currency no change was made during the reign.

<sup>1</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Wardrobe and Household, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn, 540 and above.

<sup>3</sup> 4th May-29th June anno VIII (1315); Exchequer Q. P. R.; Wardrobe and Household, Bundle No. 18.

TABLE A. LAY SUBSIDIES RECEIVED BY EDWARD II

From L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies"

A. D.	Regnal year.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1307-	1	Twentieth from Counties	33,588	15	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38,375	19	5
1308		Fifteenth from Boroughs	4,787	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1313	6	Twentieth from Counties	35,153	11	5	38,572	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Fifteenth from Boroughs	3,419	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1315	8	Twentieth from Counties	33,962	9	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	37,210	16	2
		Fifteenth from Boroughs	3,248	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1316	9	Sixteenth from Counties	35,407	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	39,313	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Fifteenth from Boroughs	3,906	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1319	12	Eighteenth from Counties and Twelfth from Boroughs				36,396	0	0
1322	16	Tenth from Counties	36,709	16	1	42,374	5	10
		Sixth from Boroughs	5,664	9	9			
Total . . . . .						232,243	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

TABLE B. CLERICAL SUBSIDIES RECEIVED BY EDWARD II

A. D.	Regnal year.		£	s.	d.
1307	1	Clerical Tenth with £5,778 arrears of prior Tenths			20,338 14 3
1309	3	Papal Crusade Tenths for three years, first year			20,335 7 7
1310	3	Same, second year			20,565 9 2
1311	4	Grant of 12d. on the 13s. 4d. of Spirituals by Canterbury Clergy, say			2,687 10 0
1312	5	Papal Crusade Tenth, third year			20,589 18 5
1313	6	Grant of 4d. on 13s. 4d. of Spirituals by Canterbury, say			895 13 4
1313	6	Benevolences from Clergy			8,666 13 4
1314	7	Loans from same			6,666 13 4
1315	8	Clerical Tenth (reduced assessment)			15,874 3 10
1316	9	Same with contributions from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland			23,016 19 0
1317	10	Papal Crusade Tenth from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland	£	s.	d.
			16,758	11	0
1318	11	Same, further on account	2,299	4	10
1319	12	Clerical Tenth			6,953 19 8
1320	13	Papal Crusade Tenth			16,134 1 1
1322	15	Canterbury grant of 5d. on the 13s. 4d. of Spirituals for two years, say			636 1 3
1322	15	Papal Tenth for Scots war for two years, first year			18,151 11 9
1323	16	Same, second year			22,279 3 8
Total					203,297 4 3



## TABLE C. REVENUE OF

RECEIPTS PER TREASURY  
(Pell Rolls).

<i>Regnal Year.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Term.</i>	<i>Roll.</i>	<i>Terminal Totals</i>		
				<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1	1307	Mich.	No. 44	17,402	1	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
—	1308	Easter	No. 187	7,944	9	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	—	Mich.	No. 189	47,208	5	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
—	1309	Easter	No. 193	51,040	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	—	Mich.	No. 197	13,767	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1310	Easter	Nos. 48 & 24 (Auditors)	23,828	19	3
4	—	Mich.	No. 201	37,173	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1311	Easter	No Totals on either side			
5	—	Mich.	No. 204	16,948	10	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1312	Easter	No. 202	18,038	13	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
6	—	Mich.	No. 206	32,601	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1313	Easter	No. 207	17,328	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	—	Mich.	No. 208	47,346	10	0
—	1314	Easter	No. 171	30,493	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	—	Mich.	No. 210	22,436	16	8
—	1315	Easter	No. 211	47,278	11	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	—	Mich.	No. 213	32,239	11	8
—	1316	Easter	No. 215	21,812	18	4
10	—	Mich.	No. 216	43,477	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1317	Easter	No. 217	19,793	18	4
11	—	Mich.	No. 219	30,531	8	7
—	1318	Easter	No. 94 (Auditors)	34,528	13	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	—	Mich.	No Totals on either side			
—	1319	Easter	No Totals on either side			
13	—	Mich.	No. 222	44,791	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1320	Easter	No. 223	26,208	7	10
14	—	Mich.	No. 224	25,153	9	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1321	Easter	No. 225	15,613	14	4
15	—	Mich.	No. 226	12,646	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1322	Easter	No. 228	15,445	4	0
16	—	Mich.	No. 229	36,372	18	6
—	1323	Easter	No. 231	63,274	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	—	Mich.	No. 232	50,593	7	2
—	1324	Easter	No. 233	20,143	3	10
18	—	Mich.	No. 234	36,173	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
—	1325	Easter	No. 236	26,184	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	—	Mich.	No. 238	24,463	2	2
—	1326	Easter	No. 241	23,815	16	6
20	—	Mich.	Roll incomplete			

## EDWARD II

RECEIPTS PER WARDROBE  
(L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Ward-  
robe and Household).

Yearly Totals.						Grand Totals.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
25,346	10	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	Accounts wanting					
98,248	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	say 30,000	0	0	say 128,248	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
37,596	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Accounts wanting					
			"	"				
34,987	3	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"				
49,930	12	9	"	"				
77,840	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"				
69,715	7	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"				
54,052	10	0	6,058	16	11	60,111	6	11
63,271	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	48,392	7	1	111,664	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
65,060	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	23,208	19	8	88,269	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
			27,241	6	0			
70,999	15	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33,058	13	5	104,058	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
40,767	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	25,106	2	8	65,873	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
28,091	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	49,920	4	3	78,011	12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
99,647	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	say 30,000	0	0	129,647	0	0
70,736	11	0	say 30,000	0	0	100,736	11	0
62,358	0	5	Accounts wanting					
48,278	18	8	"	"				

## TABLE D. CUSTOMS, EDWARD II

From L. T. R. Enrolled Customs' Accounts Nos. 1 and 2.

*Rates of Duty.*

<i>Antiqua</i> or <i>Magna Custuma</i> (from natives and foreigners).		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sack of Wool and 300 Woolfells	.	6	8
Last of Leather	.	13	4
<i>Nova</i> or <i>Parva Custuma</i> (from foreigners).			
Sack of Wool and 300 Woolfells	.	3	4
(in addition to old duty)			
Last of Leather	.	6	8
(in addition to old duty)			
Scarlet cloth full grain, the piece ( <i>pannus</i> )	.	2	0
Cloth half grain, the piece	.	1	6
Cloth not in grain, the piece	.	1	0
Wax, the quintal	.	2	0
Wine, the tun	.	2	0
All other articles, cattle, horses, grain, groceries, &c., 3 <i>d.</i> on the £1 value.			

<i>Regnal</i> <i>year.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>			<i>Regnal</i> <i>year.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>		
	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1	14,434	5	8	11	9,172	14	5
2	19,172	3	2	12	19,939	4	0
3	14,062	3	11	13	10,620	9	3
4	16,240	7	3	14	10,313	19	3
5	13,094	4	11*	15	6,324	8	11
6	12,218	16	6	16	24,285	3	11†
7	10,724	16	9	17	11,985	3	4
8	10,780	8	7	18	11,783	19	8
9	7,102	6	4	19	8,741	9	3
10	9,331	8	10				

\* *Nova Custuma* suspended by Order of Parliament, 6th October 1311.† *Nova Custuma* again levied. London Accounts swelled by £555 17*s.* from Wine Duties, not found before; also by forced Loan of £4,763 6*s.* 11*d.*

## EDWARD III "OF WINDSOR"

*Born 13th November 1312; began to reign  
25th January 1327; died 21st January 1377*

### I EDWARD III

1326-1327. On the 20th January (1327) a reluctant abdication in favour of his son had been extorted from the unfortunate Edward of Carnarvon. On the 24th of the month the peace of the new King was proclaimed, but his reign somehow was not held to have begun till the morrow.

On Sunday, 1st February, the boy-monarch was crowned, having as an indispensable condition been previously dubbed. The honour was conferred by the sword of his cousin Henry of Lancaster, surnamed "Wryneck",<sup>1</sup> Earl of Lancaster and Leicester. The coronation oath followed the formula introduced in the late reign, the King swearing to maintain the laws and righteous customs which the community (*la communauté*) should choose, in addition to the primary obligations of the original oath.<sup>2</sup>

The morrow of the coronation, being Candlemas, or the Feast of the Purification, was kept as a holiday. On the 3rd February Parliament resumed its sitting, no fresh writs being issued. The first measure was to appoint a standing Council of Regency to advise the King. We have seen that the revolution was the work of a coalition between the offended Queen, Mortimer, as representing the confederates of 1321, and the Lancastrians. The claims of these parties would have to be recognized. Four prelates, four earls, and six barons were named; a bishop, an earl, and two barons to be in constant attendance upon the sovereign. The Presidency was given to Lancaster; the prelates were the two Archbishops, the faithless Reynolds and the faithful Melton, with, of course, the two 'indispensables', Orlton and Stratford. Mortimer did not think it necessary to

<sup>1</sup> "*Au tort col*"; Le Bel, I. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis of Lancaster, I. 183, 184.

invite criticism by figuring on the Council; his name is most emphatically conspicuous by its absence.

Petitions for the reversal of the proceedings against Earl Thomas and all those 'of his quarrel' were freely granted. But there was no lack of matters on which the 'Good Commons' could address the King and Council in a sterner spirit. Among the complaints to which attention was invited were continued infractions of the Charters; the Forest Charter a dead letter; rights of the Church invaded; revenues of vacant Sees still impounded. Men were compelled to serve outside their counties at their own expense, and beyond the requirements of their tenures. Finally, they demanded the rigid exclusion from the country of all 'Provisors', i. e. persons introducing Papal Bulls of Provision.<sup>1</sup>

On most points satisfactory answers were given. Both Charters were fully confirmed, and the perambulations promised afresh. "The resulting act is on the whole creditable both to the Parliament and to the government."<sup>2</sup> In spite of the seeming good understanding between King and Parliament, the look-out for Mortimer and Isabelle was far from hopeful. Dangers surrounded them on every side. The dethroned King was alive and might at any moment break his bonds. Across the Channel matters were in evil plight. Guienne and Gascony had been overrun by the French. Plenipotentiaries had to be sent with powers to settle everything; their efforts resulted in a treaty ceding the Agenais and Bazadais, and agreeing to a mutual restitution of 'conquests' made since May 1325, in consideration of a war-indemnity of 50,000 marks sterling (31 March).<sup>3</sup>

In the North matters went even worse. In vain Parliament proclaimed strict observance of the truce with 'Robert Bruce and his adherents'—an offensive formula. On the very night of the coronation Bruce made an attempt on Norham Castle. Edward had to call for a muster of lieges to meet at Newcastle on the 19th May. The boroughs were directed to supply contingents to serve at the King's expense. A less judicious step was an invitation to John of Hainault to return with a fresh body of auxiliaries. The liberal scale of wages made the service

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 185-187.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, II. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Foedera, II. 700.



popular, and the Hainaulters joined the Royal head-quarters at York 500 strong, a splendid force, but for the purposes of Border warfare totally useless.

With picturesque incidents the campaign proved a miserable failure. The Scots inroads began in June, they always keeping out of reach. On the 15th July the King signs at Durham. Within three days' time blazing homesteads indicated the whereabouts of the enemy. Their numbers were inconsiderable, but they were led by the veteran raiders Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and James Douglas. Bruce, being afflicted with leprosy, stayed at home. The English forces were set in order to pursue the retreating enemy up the Wear to Stanhope. The futility of endeavouring to overtake them by a stern chase having become apparent, a forced march to Heydon Bridge on the South Tyne was undertaken in the hope of cutting off their retreat. But all the time they remained at Stanhope, and the English had to work their way back to find them there, securely posted on a hill on the south side of the river. For days the armies faced each other, neither caring to cross the river to attack. One night Douglas made a bold attempt to carry off the boy-King from the midst of his men. Crossing the Wear at a safe distance, with two hundred mounted men-at-arms, he crept up to the English camp, and fell upon it, shouting: "Douglas! Douglas!" Thus spurring and hacking and shouting "Douglas!" he fought his way to the King's tent, and cut the ropes. The devotion of a chaplain saved Edward's life at the cost of his own.

For yet another three days the hosts faced each other across the river. On the fourth day the Scots had disappeared, having executed during the night a circuitous march round the English position. Pursuit would clearly be hopeless. With tears of bitter mortification the young King turned homewards. On the 9th August he signs again at Durham, and the twenty-two days' campaign was brought to an end. On the 20th August the Hainaulters were dismissed.<sup>1</sup>

One fact of interest in connexion with this campaign must not be overlooked, namely, the earliest allegation of the use of fire-arms in war. Barbour, the Scottish historian, tells us that

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 189-193. From the account by Jean le Bel, who served on the campaign.

during this foray his countrymen, to their great astonishment, first saw "crakys of war", as he calls them, brought into use. The question remains whether the pieces were of native make or brought over by the Hainaulters.<sup>1</sup>

For the expenses of the war the Government turned to the nation. A Parliament had been summoned to meet at Lincoln, and sat there 15th-23rd September. The counties and boroughs granted a Twentieth. The clergy in their several Convocations granted Tenths. A scutage also would be levied from military tenants not called out for service. For that and the Twentieth we may allow £40,000. The Tenths were returned at £17,574 9s. 7d.

During the sitting of the Lincoln Parliament the ex-King met his horrible fate. His doom was sealed from the day of his deposition. From the humane keeping of his cousin Lancaster at Kenilworth he was removed on the night of the 3rd-4th April, and placed under the charge of Thomas of Berkeley and John Maltravers the younger. Their instructions, seemingly, were to kill him by inches, or to drive him mad. But the constitution of an athletic man of forty-three does not break down under the infliction of petty annoyances. Dangers were thickening round Mortimer and Isabelle. Dominicans openly preached the cause of the dethroned monarch. Orders were given to cut short the end. We must only hope that Mortimer, not Isabelle, gave the word. On the morning of the 22nd September the dethroned monarch was found dead in his bed. The body bore no marks of violence. But it was understood that death had been brought about by the forcible intrusion of a red-hot iron into the bowels of the victim. At the end of a month the remains were taken for interment to St. Peter's, Gloucester.<sup>2</sup>

No notice of the late King's death was taken in the Lincoln Parliament. A matter that could not be ignored was the continuance of active hostilities by the Scots. The untiring Bruce had dragged himself from his bed of sickness for a last campaign. Northumberland was more or less overrun, and the unhappy Marchers forced to buy a private truce. Satisfied that peace was a necessity, Mortimer and Isabelle made up their minds to pay the price. On the 9th October negotiations were

<sup>1</sup> Barbour, 452.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 169.

opened on the basis of the abandonment of the English claims ; in the course of the next two months the terms were settled in outline ; a truce was signed, and a Parliament summoned to sanction the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

For the services of the Hainaulters their leader had been promised £14,000. Of this, £7,000 had already been paid on account ; £4,000 extra (" regard ") was now paid for loss of horses and the like ; the balance of £7,000 stood over for nine months but was then fully and honestly paid up.<sup>2</sup>

According to the chroniclers, the Queen received a settlement that left the King one-third of his revenue. Certain it is, however, that she, or the Bardi on her account, now received sums amounting to £22,360 for debts incurred by her abroad or at home. Much of this money would go to John of Hainault and his men ; but the exceptional character of his services was thought to justify a further grant, namely, a charge on the wool-duties of the Port of London for a life-pension of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) a year.<sup>3</sup>

For the year's revenue the Pells return £14,624 17s. 5½d. ; but the Wardrobe Accounts are wanting so that the total cannot be given.

## 2 EDWARD III

1327-1328. The year 1328 opened with arrangements for the King's marriage with Philippa of Hainault, the match arranged for him when abroad in France. Philippa being related to Edward, namely, in the third degree, a dispensation was necessary, but that was readily granted at Avignon. In December (1327) Philippa was brought to London, and after a brief stay there taken on to York, where on Sunday, 24th January (1328), the marriage knot was tied by Archbishop Melton. Canterbury was vacant through the death of Reynolds, who had passed away at Mortlake, " conscience-smitten and despised," on the 16th November.<sup>4</sup>

The Parliament that had been summoned to consider the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 194. The money was transmitted, perhaps advanced by the Bardi ; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 164.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 187 ; Foedera.

<sup>4</sup> Hook ; Genesis, I. 195.

propriety of making peace with Scotland met at York on the 7th February (1328); one hundred Scottish knights had been invited to be present. On the 1st March the King of England was made to proclaim his recognition of 'our dear friend and ally, Robert, by the grace of God King of the Scots'. The old frontier line as established in the reign of Alexander III would be restored; and all treaties involving any subjection on the part of Scotland were cancelled at one stroke.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that Isabelle and Mortimer did the thing handsomely. To clinch the peace, other instruments of the same date appointed envoys to treat for a marriage between David of Scotland, Bruce's son, and 'Johane' or Joan, the sister of the English King. The formal treaty of peace was sealed by King Robert at Edinburgh on the 17th March (1328) and ratified by Edward on the 4th May in another Parliament, summoned for the purpose to meet at Northampton. The compact is one of full offensive and defensive alliance as against all parties except France. Bruce to pay 30,000 marks (£20,000) by three yearly instalments.<sup>2</sup> But the negotiations included an agreement for the reinstatement, on the one hand, of Englishmen to lands formerly held in Scotland; and, on the other hand, of Scotsmen to lands formerly held in England; a great future source of trouble.<sup>3</sup>

In due time Isabelle appeared at Berwick with her daughter aged seven years; four and a half months earlier the bridegroom had completed his fourth year. On Sunday, 17th July, the baby pair were formally betrothed. Neither King was present; Robert being too ill, Edward too much opposed to the treaties signed in his name. Wise and salutary as the pacification was, it is clear that it was generally unpopular. The little Queen of Scots lived to be stigmatized as "Joan Make-peace".<sup>4</sup>

On the 31st January 1328 Charles IV of France, "*Le Bel*," had been gathered to his fathers, leaving a daughter and a widow in the family way. In April the Queen gave birth to another daughter. The question of the succession, destined to involve France and England, was at once opened up, Edward

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 196.

<sup>2</sup> The whole was paid by 1331; Foedera; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, I. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 198.



putting in a claim to succeed as heir to his mother. His pretension was clearly untenable. Isabelle herself could not possibly claim the Crown, even if the so-called Salique Law should be rejected by the French. There were at the time living daughters of the three late kings, each one of whom would stand between her and the throne. But none of these princesses had a son; the Queen therefore could contend that though she herself could not inherit, she could transmit a right to her son. But the French magnates assembled to choose a Regent had already decided in favour of male succession by appointing Philip of Valois, son of the anglophobe Charles, the brother of Philip the Fair, to act as Regent.

But the time for pressing Edward's claims had not come. On Trinity Sunday (29 May 1328), Philip VI of France was hallowed at Rheims with the greatest possible splendour. Edward was informally invited to render homage, but for the time the summons could be ignored.

For the revenue of the year the Pells return £34,167 8s. 4d.

### 3 EDWARD III

1328-1329. Young as it was, the government of Isabelle already showed signs of disruption. Lancaster resolved to assert himself. He had no personal spite against the late King, and must have been shocked at his treatment and death. He had the support of Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and that of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent (both sons of Edward I). They held a meeting at St. Paul's (2 January 1329) and passed resolutions for getting the King out of Mortimer's hands. Mortimer promptly drew the sword, ravaging the lands of his opponents in the King's name. Lancaster advanced to give battle, but deserted by Norfolk and Kent, made his submission, and was fined to the value of half his estate. 'Minor offenders' fled the kingdom. Isabelle and Mortimer were thus reinstated in power.<sup>1</sup>

Rumours that the King was alive were becoming rife, "almost as great a source of embarrassment to Mortimer and Isabelle as Edward's actual existence had been".<sup>2</sup> Edmund of Kent had

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Tout.



not purchased pardon by submission. A Parliament was summoned to Winchester for the 11th March. On the 13th Edmund was arrested by the orders of Mortimer. On the 16th of the month an inquest was held before the coroner of the King's Household, when the wretched Earl put in a confession incriminating a host of persons, from the Pope (John XXII) downwards, as having shared in the belief in Edward's existence, ending with an abject prayer for mercy. But Mortimer had no mercy. The confession was laid before the Peers in Parliament and Edmund condemned as a traitor. On the 19th March he was beheaded.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Edward had been formally summoned to render the homage due by him to the King of France. In the spring of 1329 a French army was ordered to muster at Bergerac in Périgord. Under the circumstances the English Government could not ignore renewed citations. On the 26th May Edward sailed from Dover; on the 6th June he did homage in the beautiful choir of Amiens Cathedral. The delicate diplomatic act was attended by unusual complications, owing to the unrecognized conquests of the French in Guienne. The homage, therefore, was rendered in somewhat indefinite terms, Edward declaring himself the man of his lord the King of France for the Duchy of Guienne and its appurtenances that he recognized to hold of him as Duke of Guienne and Peer of France. The further question, whether the homage due was liege homage or not, was reserved for future consideration. Ultimately Edward had to admit that it was.<sup>2</sup>

While Edward was in France Bruce passed away, and was succeeded by his infant son David II.

For the revenue of the year the Pells show the substantial return of £38,790 11s. 6½d. But the Wardrobe Accounts are again wanting.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 200, 201.

## 4 EDWARD III

1329-1330. The execution of the Earl of Kent sealed Mortimer's doom. Nobody could feel safe. He had been raised to the earldom of March and gave himself intolerable airs. Edward naturally hated him as his mother's paramour, and chafed at the tutelage in which he was kept. Philippa, too, might well be dissatisfied with her position. On the 28th February 1330 she had been crowned at Westminster. 1,000 marks was the modest sum found available for her Chamber, while 10,000 marks from the Scottish tribute could be spared for the Queen mother with all her vast possessions.

On the 15th June Philippa gave birth to a son, England's future hero, Edward of Woodstock. A man old enough to be a father might fairly think himself old enough to rule. Taking counsel of "the young men who stood before him", Edward resolved to shake off the irksome yoke. Plans were laid for getting rid of Mortimer during the sittings of a Grand Council summoned to meet at Nottingham on the 15th October.<sup>1</sup>

For the Revenue John XXII had granted the King Tenths for four years, the proceeds to be equally divided between them, Pope and King dividing the spoils of the English Church. Hitherto a fourth share seemed the most that was reserved for the Holy See. Of these Tenths apparently no returns are forthcoming. For the King's share we may allow £9,000.

					£	s.	d.
Pells	.	.	.	.	33,002	17	8
Wardrobe	.	.	.	.	4,365	19	0
					<hr/>		
					37,368	16	8
					<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 206.

## 5 EDWARD III

1330-1331. On the 15th October (1330) the Grand Council duly met, and Mortimer, whose suspicions had been aroused, at once taxed the young King and his friends with hostile designs. All disclaimed any such purpose; William Montagu of Shepton Montagu, springing to his feet, dared any man to accuse him of treason. But as Mortimer was on his guard not a moment was to be lost. A desperate *coup de main* was resolved upon for that very night (16 October). Isabelle, Mortimer, and the young King were established in the castle, which was carefully guarded night and day. All the others were lodged in the town. Montagu had learned of the existence of a tunnel or underground passage through the rock on which the castle stood, unknown to Mortimer, by which access to the interior could be gained from without. At midnight Montagu mustered a high-born band, twenty-four strong. Threading the mazes of the unsuspected tunnel, they reached the castle enclosure, and fought their way to the Royal apartments in a sanguinary struggle in which the Steward of the Household was killed. Edward in full armour was waiting for them upstairs, at the door of his mother's chamber. Mortimer was found in his adjoining room. Isabelle, rushing in, implored her son to have mercy on her favourite: "*Beal fitz, beal fitz, eiez pitie du gentil Mortymer.*" Vainly she pleaded! Roger was seized and bound. Next day Edward proclaimed that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands. Roger's fate was reserved for a Parliament which was summoned for the 26th November.

The charges against the Earl of March were laid before the temporal peers, the earls and barons of the realm. Neither prelates nor commoners could interfere in such a matter. Fourteen counts of a miscellaneous character were preferred, the main charge, of which the several counts were but illustrations, was that Roger had "accroched", i. e. usurped Royal authority, ousting the Regency Council appointed by Parliament, and taking the government of the kingdom and Royal Household into his own hands, as, of course, he had done. The primary overt acts assigned were those of compassing the deaths of

Edward II and the Earl of Kent. Whereas 'the father of our lord the King' (delightful euphemism) had been established at Kenilworth by ordinance of the peers, Roger caused him to be sent to Berkeley Castle, where he was feloniously "murdered and killed" by Roger's men; he had led the Earl of Kent to believe that 'the father of our lord the King was alive', and then had him condemned and put to death by the Winchester Parliament. Then Roger had procured for himself, his children, and friends, lavish grants of Crown lands and rights, &c., &c. After a short deliberation the peers, returning, found that all the matters charged were notorious, 'especially the article touching the death of Sir Edward the father of our lord the King'. Sentence followed, Roger being condemned to be drawn and hanged as an enemy of King and country. Mortimer was not confronted with his judges, the case thus going beyond the precedents of the cases of Lancaster and the two Despensers, who were produced, but not allowed to speak. On the 29th November Roger was drawn on an oxhide to the Elms at Tyburn and hanged on the common gallows there.

The King then requested alike 'true and loyal' judgment against Maltravers, Thomas Gurney, and William Ogle. Maltravers was charged with having been the main instrument in deluding the Earl of Kent; Gurney and Ogle were denounced as the perpetrators of the murder of the late King. Maltravers, Gurney, and Ogle were condemned, but given time, managed to escape.<sup>1</sup>

Berkeley was called on to explain how the late King came to be murdered when under his charge. He cleared himself by an *alibi*, accepted by a jury of knights, but disproved by the damning evidence of his own domestic accounts when brought to light.

The Queen was required to surrender her ill-gotten possessions and was reduced to her original dower of £3,000 a year. She was allowed to move freely at will about the country, and regularly received dutiful visits from her son. She died in 1338 at her castle at Hertford.

The rehabilitation and reward of injured or deserving parties

<sup>1</sup> The order for their arrest was only issued four days after Mortimer's execution; Genesis, I. 210 note.

now ensued; William Melton of York was replaced in the Treasury, while Henry of Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, handed over the Seal to John Stratford, Bishop of Winchester. In the confused state of politics, men who had sided with the King found it expedient to take out pardons, as well as those who had sided against him.<sup>1</sup>

Down to the year 1330 nothing had been done on either side towards carrying out the provisions of the treaty of March 1327. In April 1330 envoys had been instructed to press for the due restitution of territory by the French, at the same time suggesting a marriage between Edward's sister Eleanor and John, the son of the King of France. The result was a treaty signed at Vincennes on the 8th May.

The French made some concessions to please the English: they agreed to restore some places which had been seized; and they agreed that the English should be at liberty to set off any moneys that might be found to be due to them in reduction of the war indemnity. Then the question of the nature of the homage due still remained unsettled. Philip insisted that 'liege' homage was due, and summoned Edward to appear before the Parliament of Paris on 29th July 1330. Edward did not appear, and a renewed summons was issued for the 1st September. After the fall of Mortimer Edward exerted himself to cultivate a better understanding with France, with decided success. To anticipate events, on the 30th March 1331 he sealed a declaration that the homage rendered for Guienne was and ought to be 'liege' homage involving the oath of fealty.<sup>2</sup> As Edward was now his own master, no question could be raised as to the validity of his recognition of Philip's title.

For the revenue we have:

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	33,231	2	9½
Wardrobe . . . .	4,365	19	0
	<hr/>		
	37,597	1	9½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, II. 815; Genesis, I. 213, 214.



## 6 EDWARD III

1331-1332. The provisions of the Treaty of Northampton for the reinstatement on either side of persons dispossessed through the late wars, as might have been anticipated, proved impracticable. The obligation on the English side was a light one, and readily complied with. But on the Scottish side fulfilment of the stipulation would have been tantamount to the restoration of the whole Comyn-Balliol party in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Unable to procure open support from Edward, the "Disinherited Barons", or "*Querellours*", as they were called, resolved to help themselves, raised forces, and sailing from Ravenspur, a place no longer existing, landed in Fife early in August 1332. Bruce and James Douglas were no more. The Barons pressing on gained a signal victory at Dupplin; occupied Perth, and on the 24th September crowned King Edward at Scone.<sup>2</sup>

On the 23rd November Balliol signed at Roxburgh a very remarkable document, formally recognizing that the crown of Scotland had always been held of that of England by liege homage, and making a cession of the town and county of Berwick, with 2,000 "liveries" of land on the Scottish March, to be annexed to the Crown of England. In less than a month Balliol was driven helter-skelter out of Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

Down to September (1332) no supply had been voted by Parliament since the Twentieth granted at Lincoln in 1327. The bonus of £20,000 from Scotland had come in with two of the four Crusade Tenths granted by John XXII in 1330. At the end of the year we shall find the revenue risen to £72,620 4s. 4d. But all this was found insufficient for the King's prospective needs; and the old expedients had to be resorted to. On the 18th of September all private Charters were called in for re-sealing; while later, a tallage on movables and rents was imposed on the Crown demesnes by the King's mere authority. Then commissioners were named to treat with the clergy for an Aid for the marriage just celebrated between the King's sister Eleanor and Reginald II, Count of Guelders.<sup>4</sup> The matter of the tallage

<sup>1</sup> See the list of their names, Genesis, I. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Dunbar, Scottish Kings, 149.

<sup>4</sup> Eleanor sailed from England in May 1332.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 232.

was taken up by Parliament in September. The King agreed to accept a Fifteenth and Tenth, and revoked the order for the unlawful tallage, the last probably ever demanded by an English King. From the Customs' Accounts of the year we learn that another illegality was committed, in the shape of an unauthorized imposition of a surtax on wool, in addition to the existing Old and New Customs. The amount of the surtax is not stated, but reference to our Table of Customs will show the yields from that source spring up to £24,116 from a previous average of £14,000. A fixed assessment for the levy of lay Subsidies, like that established for clerical Subsidies in 1291, was also agreed upon, in this Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The yield of the Fifteenth and Tenth was £38,170<sup>2</sup> and becomes a standard for our future. The yield of the Aid from the clergy does not appear to have been returned.

Another point of interest to be noted in connexion with this Parliament is this, that it may be taken to mark the era of the final arrangement of Parliament as two Houses, Lords and Commons, the burgesses sitting with the knights of the shire. The importance of the conjunction of the county and borough representations can hardly be over-estimated. The welding of the three orders into one gave that unity of feeling and action on which "the power of Parliament has ever since mainly depended".<sup>3</sup>

The year's revenue stands as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	70,551	11	2½
Wardrobe . . . . .	2,068	13	1½
	<hr/>		
	72,620	4	4
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 223, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Topham, *Archaeologia*, VII. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, I. 394.

## 7 EDWARD III

1332-1333. Edward, who hated the Treaty of Northampton, had connived at the proceedings of the Disinherited in 1332. To advise the King as to the attitude to be observed towards Scotland, a Parliament was held in January 1333. But after six days of 'diligent' discussion the lieges found themselves unable to commit the nation to a rupture with Scotland. Thanking them for their attendance, Edward said that he would take counsel with the King of France and the Pope.

Of course he consulted neither, and began to prepare for war without delay. The sums 'promised' by the clergy for the marriage of the King's sister were exacted with great severity; while distraint for knighthood was enforced against all landowners to the value of £40 a year.

In March (1333) Balliol, now openly supported by the King of England, crossed the Border and laid siege to Berwick, held for young David II. Edward announced that the Scots had broken the peace, and ordered a muster of military tenants for the 30th May. But before that he had appeared on the banks of the Tweed, anxious to give effect to the cessions made by Balliol by the Roxburgh agreement. A grand assault on Berwick was immediately given; but the fortifications of Edward I were too strong to be carried, and the siege became a mere blockade. Towards the end of June it became apparent that unless speedily relieved Berwick must fall. Dunbar, Earl of March, who was in command, verbally agreed to a convention of the usual sort, to surrender if not relieved within fifteen days.

This treaty, by luring the Scots to risk a pitched encounter, proved a fatal snare to them. Within the appointed time a Scottish force advanced to Tweedmouth, and succeeded in throwing relief of some sort into Berwick. The fifteen days having elapsed, the English demanded the surrender, but the Scots insisted that the place had been duly relieved. A fresh convention, reduced to writing, was sealed on the 15th July; the town to be yielded at daybreak on the 20th if not effectually relieved by sunset on the 19th. An 'effectual' relief was defined as being the entry of a body of not less than 200 soldiers into

Berwick, by land and not by sea. On the 19th the Scots duly appeared on a little eminence on the north side of Berwick known as Halidon Hill. The English, ready prepared for their coming, confronted them on the slopes of another hill, outside Berwick, all access to the place being carefully guarded. Of the English army we are told that it was arranged in triple formation, each division having wings with archers, probably arrayed as hollow wedges broad at base and pointed at top.<sup>1</sup> Profiting by the lessons learned from the Scots, the men-at-arms dismounted to fight on foot. Norfolk, the Earl Marshal, John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and Edward Bohun commanded the right division; the King commanded the centre division, and Balliol the left division. The Scots likewise were marshalled in three bodies, doubtless their usual "schiltrum" formation, while a chosen body of 200 men-at-arms was charged with the desperate duty of endeavouring at whatever cost to cut their way into Berwick.

To get at the English in their position on their height, the Scots would have not only to abandon their own defensive position at Halidon, but also to cross a line of swampy hollows between them and the English. To attack such an enemy in such a position was an act of the wildest temerity. The Scottish leaders, however, faced the risk without apparent hesitation. Vesper-time was drawing nigh, and Berwick must be relieved before nightfall. Gallantly they plunged downhill into the swampy bottom, and there they stuck, overwhelmed by the showers of arrows poured on them 'as thick as motes in the sun-beam'. The Scottish right made a vigorous attack on the English left, but were defeated before the other divisions could be brought into action, and all three were shortly "clubbed" and rolled into one helpless mass. The devoted Two Hundred 'fought like lions', but utterly failed to force their way through the English right. When the Scots began to give way, the English mounted their horses and pursued them till nightfall. Archibald Douglas, the Regent, was taken prisoner mortally wounded. The slaughter was terrible, especially among the gentry. On the field lay 6 earls, 73 barons and knights, and 500 horsemen. The

<sup>1</sup> I owe to J. E. Morris, Wars, the suggestion that the hollow projecting ward described at Crécy was first seen at Halidon Hill.

loss admitted by the English was 1 knight, 1 esquire, and 12 archers.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of course, the town and castle of Berwick were delivered on the morrow, life, limb, and property being guaranteed to all within the walls. From this time Berwick, with occasional changes of hands, became substantially a part of England, but with the organization of a petty kingdom.

The only other permanent acquisition of the year was the Isle of Man, and that Edward at once made over to Montagu.

Ten days after the battle Edward turned southwards, to indulge in his favourite sports of the tiltyard, the task of subjugating and reorganizing Scotland being left to Balliol. He swept through the Lowlands without encountering an enemy, the young King and Queen being driven to find a temporary refuge on the rock of Dumbarton.

For the revenue we have Pells £54,001 1s. 3d. But the Wardrobe Accounts are wanting.

## . 8 EDWARD III

1333-1334. The cession of Berwick was only taken as a grant "on account" of the full measure of 2,000 *liverées* promised at Roxburgh. Satisfaction for the balance due was arranged by the two Kings in a meeting held at Newcastle in the month of June (1334). Balliol, without the intervention of any Scottish Parliament, of his own mere authority, made over to the King of England the eight counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, the three Lothians, Peebles, and Dumfries, in absolute dominion, freed and discharged from all subjection to the Scottish Crown. For the rest of his dismembered kingdom Balliol did due homage. Edward appointed sheriffs to rule the ceded districts, and then turned southwards. On the 27th July he signs at Windsor.

But again Scotland had risen in 'chaotic' strife. Kings and Kingmakers seldom agree, and Balliol and the *Querellours* were not long in falling out. A petty squabble over a division of spoils led to a serious split in the party. Then the national party rose. By Michaelmas Balliol was again driven clean out of

<sup>1</sup> For further details see Genesis, I. 230, 231 and the authorities there cited.



Scotland; and a new Regency was established in the joint hands of the Earl of Moray and Robert Stewart, the heir to the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Intelligence of the new rising had reached Edward at Windsor on the 3rd August. To provide immediate succour for the English party in Scotland, all 'robbers, felons, and homicides' who had received pardons on condition of serving at the siege of Berwick were immediately ordered to rejoin the colours at Newcastle by the 6th October. A Parliament had already been summoned to Westminster for the 19th September. The King made a request for money, and the lieges did not withhold it. The counties gave a Fifteenth, the boroughs a Tenth; the clergy in their assemblies agreed to Tenths.<sup>2</sup> The returns are wanting, but we may fairly allow £18,000. None of the money would come in during the current year, and the returned revenue is a moderate one.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	41,346	3	3½
Wardrobe . . . .	4,900	1	0
	<hr/>		
	46,246	4	3½
	<hr/>		

## 9 EDWARD III

1334-1335. In the first week of October Edward left London. On the 1st November he was at Newcastle. Levies of archers and hobelers had been demanded, and the military tenants called out. But even Edward I had found it next to impossible to enforce attendance in a winter campaign. The levies came to nothing; the barons did not appear. The result was that Edward, after spending most of November at Newcastle, and the whole of December and January at Roxburgh, begging for support, in the second week of February (1335) went back somewhat hurriedly to the South.

Envoys from France were pressing for a truce with the Scots. Edward put them off with studied diplomatic friendliness, but would grant nothing beyond a truce to last from Easter to Midsummer.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 234, 235.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 235.

Preparations for a more effectual campaign were pressed on without intermission. A grant of hobelers and archers was obtained from Parliament, with an arrangement for substituting money payments for personal service.<sup>1</sup>

In the first week of July (1335) Edward mustered his forces on the Border. Dividing his troops, he himself marched up Annandale with one army, while Balliol was sent along the east coast with the other army, the fleet co-operating. Both armies destroyed everything that they could find to destroy. Crossing the Forth, they reunited their forces at Perth. Leaving Perth in the first week of September, Edward divided the next eight weeks between Edinburgh and Berwick. Sensible that there was yet plenty of work in Scotland to be done, he took up his quarters for the winter at Newcastle. The attempt to establish friendly relations with France had failed. Philip and the new Pope Benedict XII<sup>2</sup> kept pressing Edward to grant a truce to the Scots; their instances were backed up by piratical attacks on the south coast. Yielding to this double pressure, Edward granted a truce that was eventually prolonged to the 5th May 1336.

With the grants of the previous year the revenue springs up amazingly. We get a return above any yet seen, also the beginning of an era of more severe taxation.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	110,029	14	1½
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	1,600	0	0
	<hr/>		
	111,629	14	1½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 235, 236. The Parliament sat at York, and for the first time granted unrestricted right of trading to all foreign merchants; 237, note.

<sup>2</sup> John XXII died 4th December 1334. On the 20th December the Cardinals elected the Cistercian Abbot Jacques Fournier. He took the name of Benedict XII.

<sup>3</sup> Share of three years lumped.

## 10 EDWARD III

1335-1336. The Spring Parliament of the year 1336 was held at Westminster, in March. As it was clear that the war with Scotland had to be carried on, supplies were voted ungrudgingly. A Fifteenth and Tenth were granted by the laity and Tenths by the clergy.<sup>1</sup> The truce was allowed to expire, and Edward started on a tour of devastation, like those undertaken by his grandfather, in order to crush the movement in the Highlands. Kinloss on the Moray Firth was his turning point, like that of his grandfather, and apparently that of Septimius Severus also (July). Returning by way of Aberdeen, he laid the city in ashes. The Aberdonians had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious by slaughtering the crews of English shipping in the harbour; and Edward stayed three days at Aberdeen to satisfy himself by 'personal inspection' that not a house had been spared. On the 24th August Edward is again found at Perth. His diarist, his chaplain, tells us that his force consisted of 400 men-at-arms and as many hobelers and archers.<sup>2</sup> Thus we find that, under the circumstances, Edward could march through Scotland in all its length and breadth with just 800 men.

Edward's agents had been discussing with French agents the question of a joint Crusade that was still in the air; from that they went on to open the more delicate questions of the non-restitution of the Agenais, and the support given to the Scots. But Philip was not prepared either to restore the Agenais or to abandon the Scots.

From Perth Edward had to hasten back to Nottingham to hold another Parliament, and to lay before the Houses the unsatisfactory result of the conferences with the French envoys, just held at Perth under his own eye. But he did not wait for the meeting of Parliament to tell his story. In the writs of summons he informed the lieges of the proposals laid before the French envoys, and of their rejection by them. From that he went on boldly to accuse Philip of raising armaments in various parts of Europe for the invasion of England; a gross calumny, as Edward must have well known, as the armaments in question

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 242.

<sup>2</sup> See the Diary, sent to the Queen; Ellis, Letters, 3rd Series, I. 35. A hobeler (French *hobélier* was a man mounted on a pony.

were undoubtedly being raised for a Crusade which had just received formal Papal sanction. Edward's allegations must have come upon the nation as a bolt out of the blue. But, with his story before them, the country had to submit to further sacrifices. The Nottingham Parliament in September agreed to the grant of a second Fifteenth and Tenth within the year, the clergy likewise doubling their contribution; concessions altogether without precedent. Further, it would seem that sanction was obtained, apparently not from Parliament, but from a delegation of merchants, to a surtax on wool of 40s. the sack from natives and 60s. from foreigners, but only to be levied for eighteen months. To drive the merchants to this concession all export of wool was forbidden. To counteract the depressing effect of this extra taxation, a scale of minimum prices of wool for the different counties was published—a futile measure of course. The Customs of the year sink to £6,997 5s. 8½*d.*, the lowest yet.

Philip no doubt was doing his best to detach Louis of Flanders from the old ties with England. Edward had had to complain of ill-treatment of English merchants in Flanders, and he had been inviting Flemish weavers to settle in England. The measure has usually been regarded as prompted by the wish to develop native industry. But it should rather be considered a threat to Flemish interests. If the English wool could be worked up at home, the Flemish looms would be reduced to idleness.

As Edward defrayed all Balliol's expenses, as well as his own, the charges on him, no doubt, were very great. The Pell Issue Roll for the half-year ending at Michaelmas (Easter 10 Edward III) shows an expenditure exceeding £73,762. In July Edward had begun plunging into that reckless course of borrowing for which the reign is notorious. In July he had commissioned agents to contract loans up to £200,000. We are told that the moiety of the Tenths granted by John XXII had no sanctity in his eyes, but that he had laid hands on the whole.<sup>1</sup>

Revenue :				£	s.	d.
Pells	.	.	.	116,970	4	5
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup>	.	.	.	1,600	0	0
				<hr/>		
				118,570	4	5

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 244-246.

<sup>2</sup> Share of three years lumped.

## II EDWARD III

1336-1337. The truce with Scotland had been allowed to expire on the 5th May 1336, and operations against the Scots had been pressed ever since. In November Edward himself returned to the charge, and spent six weeks in superintending the erection of "peels". But faster than the King could build the Scots could pull down. During the course of the winter the districts of Mearns, Angus, and Gowry were reduced to 'an almost hopeless wilderness'.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that in his heart Edward had never made up his mind to drop his pretension to the Crown of France. In 1334 he was simply striving to detach Philip from his Scottish alliance, and his tone was strictly pacific. The allegations laid before the Nottingham Parliament in 1336 might have been taken as a declaration of war. On the Continent the sudden change was ascribed to the influence of a distinguished guest, Robert of Artois, Count of Beaumont, whose succession had been disputed and himself banished from France. In 1336 he is found preparing to accompany the King on an expedition to Scotland. Courtly, versatile, and distinguished, he was the very man to take the fancy of Edward III.<sup>2</sup> Still, to the end of 1336 the Scottish war seemed the primary affair. On the 14th January 1337 he writes that in consequence of alarming news from abroad he must ask his lieges to meet him at Westminster. A few days later intercourse with the Continent is suspended. But war was not formally declared. Edward needed time "to form his alliances and raise funds".<sup>3</sup>

On the 3rd March 1337 the session was opened. Consent to the continuance of the war with Scotland was obtained, and also a consent to the fitting out of an expedition for the recovery of the Agenais, practically war with France. The rising of Parliament was followed by an unprecedented distribution of titled honours, intended to attach the young baronage and secure their hearty support of the King's warlike policy. Six barons were raised to earldoms. The heir apparent, already

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 248, 249.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs.



Earl of Chester, was created Duke of Cornwall, the ducal title being new to English history.<sup>1</sup>

The March Parliament had given nothing. In September grants for a third year were voted both by clergy and laity. But the King could not wait. The plan of private negotiations with local bodies, rich men, and merchants was attempted, but met with little success. The King then had recourse to a most audacious operation. A scale of minimum prices for wools had been fixed at Nottingham in 1336. Edward requisitioned 30,000 sacks, giving tallies for payment, at the Nottingham prices which were quite inadequate. Then, addressing himself to a syndicate of merchants, he requested them first to indemnify the owners; and then to negotiate the sale of the wool on his account, allowing him to draw on them at once for £200,000. As a security for the repayment of this sum, he gave them a charge on all the Customs of the realm—of course in priority to all existing charges; and, as a remuneration for their trouble, a commission of 6s. 8d. the sack.

The year before we were told that he had seized the Papal share of the Tenth granted by John XXII. Now the estates of the Priorities Alien are impounded.

In the matter of allies Edward to all appearance had a goodly show of supporters to set against Philip's alliance with the Scots. The Duke of Brittany, John III, held the earldom of Richmond. William II of Hainault, newly succeeded as Count of Holland, was Edward's brother-in-law; the Emperor Ludwig or Louis of Bavaria and William of Juliers were married to his sisters-in-law; and Reginald of Guelders to his own sister.

But the hypothetical services of these family friends had to be paid for, and paid for in advance. From the Scots Philip could depend on action, effective action, for nothing or next to nothing. The year 1337 was devoted to strengthening these continental alliances. Special leave to purchase wool was given to the Brabanters, and a retaining fee of £60,000 promised to their Duke, John III, Edward's cousin; 16,000 florins were promised to Reginald, Count Palatine of the Rhine; and 2,000 galleys were hired from the Emperor Ludwig at 200 gold florins per galley.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 250. The reader will compare the proceedings at the dubbing of Edward in 1306, and the "vow of the swans"; Dawn, 509.

War against Philip was declared in a manifesto to the people, and the 30th September fixed for a muster at Canterbury. But the Pope had intervened, and the King had to pause. Two Cardinals duly made their appearance in England, and Edward, in deference to their mission, agreed to make no attack on France till after the 1st March 1338. But, in the meantime, by assuming the style of King of France he made the quarrel irreconcilable.<sup>1</sup>

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	178,041	14	11
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	1,600	0	0
	<hr/>		
	179,641	14	11
	<hr/>		

## 12 EDWARD III

1337-1338. A Parliament summoned for the 3rd February 1338 was of opinion that peace with France could not be maintained unless the Agenais were restored ; and they allowed the King to repeat his financial operation of the last year, by giving him leave to take half the wool in the kingdom, or 20,000 sacks, at his own price. On the other hand, he agreed to postpone all attacks on France till Midsummer. But while proclaiming this, he gave orders for raising two bodies of troops, one to be sent to Gascony for defence of the Province ; the other to accompany himself on an expedition to the Continent.<sup>3</sup>

With respect to the yield of these dealings in wool, there are no official returns. Thirty thousand sacks of wool at the medium price of £5 would yield £150,000. But the 30,000 sacks were to be paid for, more or less, and there was to be commission to the merchants. To the owners of the 20,000 we are expressly told nothing was paid.<sup>4</sup> Looking at our Table of the Revenue we see that for the 10th year (1335-1336) the amount is £116,970 ; and that for the 11th year, £178,141 ; while at Michaelmas 1338, the 12th year, when the proceeds of the operations in wool would have partly come in, the total rises to £272,833 8s. 9d. ; the high-water mark of the reign.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 254-256.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Share of three years lumped.

<sup>4</sup> Marimuth, 82.

But still, notwithstanding the liberality of Parliament, the King was in difficulties; the sums sent abroad had drained the country of specie. Provision had to be made for the defence of the coasts at home, and for the prosecution of the war in Scotland. The King laid his hands on all the available tin in Devon and Cornwall; sold charters of freedom to the 'natives' on the Crown demesnes; and for the expenses of his passage pressed the clergy for loans of sacramental plate, jewels, reliquaries, vestments, anything that would sell. Yielding to his instances, the Canterbury Convocation agreed to grant a Tenth for the fourth year running (1 October 1338), besides advancing the terms of payment. But the clergy refused to part with their wool.<sup>1</sup>

The yield of the Tenths stands returned at the monstrous sum of £48,948 2s., more than double the yield of a Tenth on the old valuation. It will be seen that latterly the Tenths had greatly exceeded the valuation.

In Flanders the cutting off of the supply of English wool had produced the desired effect, and offers of alliance had been received from the commercial cities through the instrumentality of the celebrated Jacques van Artevelde.

Jacques came of a good old burgher family. His policy was essentially commercial; a trader, he primarily wanted what was good for trade. The industrial classes worshipped him. In the previous December, reduced to utter distress for want of English wool, they had turned to him for light and leading. He very sensibly told them to make friends with Edward, without committing themselves to any breach with France. These suggestions were promptly acted on, and in June (1338) treaties were sealed between the King and 'the men of the towns and territories of the common land (*le comun pais*) of Flanders'.<sup>2</sup> Edward, forgetful of native industry, threw open his ports to the Flemings, with the fullest liberty of buying wool; the Flemings in return pledging themselves to give no support to the Scots nor interfere in war between Edward and Philip.

Fully confirmed in his purpose of a continental tour, on the 16th July Edward sailed from the Orwell with 964 archers and

<sup>1</sup> See Genesis, I. 257; and Wake, *State of the Church*, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, II. 1043, 1045, 10th and 23rd June.

84 mounted archers, the latter a force recently introduced.<sup>1</sup> Queen Philippa, their second daughter, the Lady Jeanne, and a brilliant retinue accompanied him. Next day they landed in the Scheldt. The burghers received them joyfully, but the Flemish lords showed little disposition to enter into Edward's enterprises. A stately progress up the Rhine followed, for a meeting with the King's august brother-in-law Ludwig (married to Edward's sister-in-law). On the 7th September an Imperial Royal Diet was held at Coblenz; Philip was denounced; and Edward appointed Vicar-General of all the Provinces West of the Rhine. But this was "but a feeble echo of the old war between Papacy and Empire".

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	267,725	9	5
Wardrobe . . . . .	5,107	19	4
	<hr/>		
	272,833	8	9
	<hr/>		

### 13 EDWARD III

1338-1339. All through the winter and spring of 1339 Edward kept endeavouring to enlarge the circle of his alliances, living at a most extravagant rate, and getting deeply into debt. Creditors began to ask for security. The royal crown of England was deposited with the Archbishop of Trier, as security for a monthly 'wage' of 11,000 gold florins, besides £25,000 already spent on preliminary expenses. In May (1338) three bishops and four earls had given their joint and several guarantees for 150,000 florins, borrowed from Nicolo Bartolomei of Lucca; and again for 54,000 florins borrowed from three citizens of Mechlin.

In June a matrimonial alliance was arranged with Brabant, young Edward being engaged to the Duke's daughter. To bind the King to his bargain, John gave an earnest of £50,000. But thirty English magnates had to guarantee the repayment of the money, if the marriage should not take place, as in fact it never did.

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Morris, 94. Archers received 3d. a day, mounted archers 6d. a day.

At home Edward ordered a general suspension of Crown payments ; even the salaries of the judges had to be stopped.<sup>1</sup>

Not till September was Edward able to drag his reluctant allies into the field. Edward may have had 4,000 men of all arms of his own. Juliers sent in a bill for 1,000 *armures de fer*—men-at-arms. Guelders, Hainault, and Brabant may have produced similar forces ; altogether a formidable host was turned out.

An indispensable preliminary to actual hostilities would be the formal defiance of Philip, Edward's lord. The delicate task of renouncing the feudal bond was committed to Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, who held a command in the army.

Philip had not been prepared for a September campaign ; the word, however, was quickly passed for a muster at Saint-Quentin. The French barons turned out in strength ; while the attendant banners of Bohemia,<sup>2</sup> Scotland, and Navarre shed unprecedented lustre on the host.

An inglorious campaign ensued, in which the ravaging of the Cambresis and Vermandois was accomplished. Philip took up a position at Peronne on the left bank of the Somme, with the river between him and the English. But neither side cared to cross the river in face of the enemy. Marching and counter-marching ensued, leading at last to an arrangement for an encounter. In response to a challenge from Philip on the 23rd October, the legions of England and France were drawn out in battle array between La Flamengerie and Vironfosse. Both armies were astir before sunrise. Hour after hour passed away, yet nothing happened. At mid-day a hare got up. The soldiers shouted at it, and a cry was raised that the battle had begun. The great lords began to dub their chief retainers, doomed, alas, to be known afterwards as 'the Knights of the Hare'.<sup>3</sup> That was the only opportunity of distinction afforded them. The French were divided in their minds. The question was finally settled by the production of a letter from Robert King of Naples, 'reputed a great savant and consequently a great

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 259-264.

<sup>2</sup> John of Luxemburg, the blind son of the Emperor Henry VII. John lived at the French Court.

<sup>3</sup> *Chevaliers du Lièvre*.



astrologer'. He pronounced the conjunction of the stars unfavourable to Philip. At Vesper time the English mounted their horses and retired towards Avesnes. That the English front was not very open to attack would appear from the fact that the French, attempting to pursue, were said to have lost 1,000 men in a bog.

On the 25th October Edward dismissed his allies; on the 1st November he was back at Brussels.<sup>1</sup> For this campaign Edward had incurred £300,000 of debt,<sup>2</sup> and forfeited the good will of the Pope.

As a contribution to the year's revenue we find the Customs yielding no less than £69,868. Apparently the treaty with the Flemings had "paid" in more ways than one; and the revenue keeps high.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	78,721	6	5½
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	88,317	16	10½
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	167,039	3	4
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#### 14 EDWARD III

1339-1340. A statement of the amount of the King's liabilities had been laid before a Parliament held in the autumn (1339) in the King's absence, and was again presented in another session summoned for the 20th January (1340). The disclosure was at last met by a demand for conditions before granting of money.

Driven to the necessity of meeting his lieges, Edward obtained from his foreign creditors leave to visit England; and on the 21st February landed in the Orwell, the Earls of Derby and Salisbury being left as bail for his return.

The picture of their King a possible prisoner for debt at Brussels was more than the loyal Houses could bear to contemplate. Peers and knights granted the Ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece for themselves and their tenants, for two years; the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 263-268.

<sup>2</sup> So a statement laid by the King before Parliament; id. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Share of lump sum.

burgesses giving a Ninth of their goods, with a Fifteenth from petty traders not living in towns, and from small flock-masters, 'living in forests and wastes'. Cottars and labourers, and they alone, would be exempted. By a further grant the condemned "maletote" was legalized and continued, at the ratio of 40s. on the sack and 300 wool-fells, and 80s. on the last of leather; but only to Whitsunday 1342, the King promising after that neither to take nor ask for more than £1 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool. In return the King accepted the Articles or petitions of the previous autumn, which, when reduced to shape by a representative committee, resulted in the compilation of the four Statutes of the 14th Edward III, condemning among other malpractices all fresh taxation except by consent of Parliament. This most important constitutional gain was held to do away with the old Royal claim to assess tallages on boroughs and demesnes. The Act therefore has been regarded as the supplement to *Confirmatio Cartarum*; and the real Act *De Tallagio Non Concedendo*.<sup>1</sup> Concurrently with the issue of writs for the January Parliament, writs for the Convocations of the two Provinces had been issued. Canterbury gave a Tenth, and York two Tenths, not having contributed in 1338.<sup>2</sup>

On the 22nd June the King again sailed from the Orwell, to encounter the formidable fleet raised by Philip to dispute his passage. The French forces included a Genoese contingent under the famous rover Barbanero of Porto Venere. The English fleet comprised three squadrons; one from the east coast under Robert Lord Morley, as Admiral of the North Fleet; one from the Thames and the Cinque Ports under the Earl of Huntingdon as Warden of the Cinque Ports; and the third from the Western Ports under the Earl of Arundel. The King, of course, held the supreme command over all.

Next day about midday, the English, on nearing the Flemish coast, descried the French fleet, 'a very forest of masts',<sup>3</sup> lying in the then harbour of Sluys. This roadstead, now mostly silted up and reduced to a sandy flat with the river Zwyn trickling through it, was then a commodious haven protected on the North by the Island of Cadsand.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 402; Genesis, I. 270-274.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 271 note; Wake, 288.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 278.

As to their numbers, the King subsequently writing to his son tells him that "*le nombre des niefs galeys et grant barges de nos enemys amounta a IXxx*".<sup>1</sup>

Villani, the historian, gives them 200 "*cocche*" besides 30 Genoese galleys.<sup>2</sup>

For the English numbers the well-informed Franciscan chronicler alleges 147 "*naves*".<sup>3</sup>

As the day was still young, Edward might have gone into action at once. But he had scruples about fighting on a Friday, and so the fleet was brought to an anchor ten miles to the West of Sluys.

At daybreak on the morrow (24 June) both sides began to prepare for action. The French Admirals, in spite of Barbanero's remonstrances, insisted upon taking up a purely defensive position within the harbour. In vain he pointed out that thereby they were throwing away the advantages of their superior numbers and bigger ships. As a compromise they moved out to the harbour mouth. There they established themselves with their vessels arranged three or four ranks deep, the tallest and biggest ships in front, all linked together with chains and cables. The topcastles were filled with men armed with stones and missiles. Barbanero, refusing to be so hampered, kept out in the open.

The English also put their biggest ships to the front. To profit by their superiority in archery, they arranged their line so as to have two ships manned with archers to one ship manned with men-at-arms.

The initiative being left to the English, they were able to manœuvre till wind and water and the direction of the sun's rays suited. At last 'well after mid-day', all things suiting, with sound of trumpet, naker (kettledrum), viol, tabor, and all kinds of music—as was the way in naval actions then—the English, full sail, crashed into the Frenchmen at their moorings. Archers and cross-bowmen exchanged volleys, while the English men-at-arms, boarding the enemy, fought hard. In fact, to all intents and purposes, the action was a battle on dry land. The French fought with their usual gallantry; but, foot by foot, they were driven back; then taking to their boats they were

<sup>1</sup> H. Nicolas, *Hist. Roy. Navy*, I. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 278 and note

<sup>3</sup> Lanercost, 333.

drowned in hundreds by over-crowding. The struggle lasted till sunset, and ended in the practical annihilation of the French fleet.<sup>1</sup> Their losses must have been very great, but no estimate of any value can be given. For the English losses the Lanercost writer suggests 400 men, with some half-dozen knights. Edward behaved with great gallantry throughout; slightly wounded in the leg, he refused to quit his post.<sup>2</sup>

The Flemish lords hastened to Ghent, to offer their congratulations to the victors of Sluys. Van Artevelde delivered a public harangue at Valenciennes on Edward's right to the Crown of France, and the advantages of union between Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant. A fresh treaty of confederation with England was signed, and the 22nd July named for an attack on Tournay, a French fort promised by Edward to the Flemings as the price of his recognition as their King.<sup>3</sup> In connexion with this recognition Edward had found it expedient to assume the double style, as from the 25th January 1340, with a new Seal quartering the Lilies with the Lions.<sup>4</sup>

On the 9th July the King writes from Bruges to the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, to explain his plans. He expects shortly to attack Tournay with 100,000 men; he begs that arrangements may be made for hastening the collection of the Ninths granted in the spring. Parliament recognized the urgency of the case, and by way of anticipating the gathering of the Ninths of the second year, gave its consent to the seizure of another 20,000 sacks of wool, the owners to be repaid out of the proceeds of the second year's Ninths, at the prices fixed at Nottingham; the proceeds of those Ninths not to be charged or anticipated, but strictly applied to repayment of the wool. Merchants were found who were willing to take the King's wool at 13s. 4d. the sack below the Nottingham rates, and to account to him at once for the same, *plus* the duty at 40s. the sack.

On the 23rd July Edward established his head-quarters between Courtrai and Tournay. For nearly two months Tournay was pressed with blockade and bombardment. Cannon being brought to bear alongside of the springals and mangonels of earlier warfare.

<sup>1</sup> So the King's letter above.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 278-281.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 269.

But the King began to realize that, as the Pope had warned him, he would find himself a mere dupe in the hands of his allies. The siege making slow progress, a saintly woman, Jeanne of Valois, dowager Countess of Hainault, was brought from the cloisters of Fontenelle to mediate between her brother and her son-in-law. With undisguised reluctance Edward was induced to agree to a truce to Midsummer 1341, the Scots to be included. Thus ended the first or "Netherlandish period" of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>1</sup>

The return from the clerical grants voted in the year, namely, one Tenth from Canterbury and a double Tenth from York, as already mentioned, are given in a lump sum of £70,530 11s. 5d. The Customs keep pretty high, returning £28,954 2s. 3d., but nothing like the yield of the previous year. The Wardrobe Accounts for the two years 12th July 1338-27th May 1340 show receipts from wool, Customs, Subsidy, and sundry, to the sum of £143 2s.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	69,243	14	11½
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	88,317	16	10½
	<hr/>		
	157,561	11	10
	<hr/>		

## 15 EDWARD III

1340-1341. On the 30th November London was taken with surprise on hearing that the King, having given the slip to his Flemish creditors, had landed "about cock crow" at the Tower. He was in the worst of tempers, and ready to fall on any victim. The courtiers had persuaded him that the insufficiency of the remittances from England must be due to malversation. John Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had already incurred the King's ill-will through his opposition to the war; and his enemies now made the most of their opportunity. Chancellor and Treasurer were both relieved of their Seals; and all the chief officials of Chancery and Treasury arrested, together with

<sup>1</sup> Tout; Genesis, I. 281-284.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lump sum.



a string of Justices. The Chancellor was Robert Stratford, Bishop of Chichester, brother of the Archbishop. The latter, hearing of his brother's disgrace, took sanctuary at Canterbury. The Seal was committed to Robert Bouchier, a military man, the first layman who ever held that office ; the Treasury likewise being entrusted to Robert Parning, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Searching inquests as to the accounts of all Crown officials, high and low, and all persons in any way connected with the collection of the taxes, or the dealings in wool, were instituted, and unwarrantable proceedings taken against some of them. Against the Judges and officials arrested nothing was found, and, the King having recovered his temper, all were shortly more or less reinstated.<sup>1</sup>

With the Archbishop a struggle ensued that for months engrossed the attention of the nation. For his attack on the ex-Chancellor the King selected a most ungenerous weapon. Stratford was one of those who in 1339 had given personal guarantees to foreign creditors for payment of the King's debts. Edward required the Archbishop to betake himself to Flanders, and place himself in the hands of those persons. The Earl of Derby was actually in detention abroad for the King's liabilities. Declining all invitations to a personal interview, the Primate boldly opened fire on the King, preaching at him and threatening excommunications, in the spirit of St. Thomas. Edward, in a fury, rushed into print, so to speak, publishing "a sort of pamphlet", addressed to the clergy, and known as *Libellus Famosus*, in which he taxed Stratford with the whole responsibility for the war and its failure. The Archbishop retorted with an elaborate and conclusive answer. At last a formal reconciliation was arranged, the King having accepted the report of a Committee of Lords to the effect that no peer should be brought to trial or judged except in full Parliament, and before his peers. Stratford had not only got the best of it, but had been the means of securing for the peers an important constitutional privilege (May 1341)

The King having asked for advice as to the collection of the Ninths of the second year, each Estate presented a Bill of conditions. Lords and Commons joined in demanding that

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 285-287.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 287-291.

commissioners should be appointed to audit the public accounts, and that Chancellor, Treasurer, and Chief Justices should be appointed in Parliament. Both points were "distinctly granted".<sup>1</sup>

In return for these concessions, an extra 10,000 sacks of wool were granted by the Commons as an equivalent for the Ninths of the second year. In the meantime the revenue sinks woefully.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	18,578	13	10½
Wardrobe . . . . .	17,062	3	4
	<hr/>		
	35,640	17	2½
	<hr/>		

## 16 EDWARD III

1341-1342. The constitutional struggle at home made the resumption of hostilities with France impossible. The King had to submit to the extension of the truce for another year, namely, to Midsummer 1342.

The Scots had profited by the King's attention to Continental schemes. Their last achievement after his return was the recovery of Edinburgh Castle (17 April 1341), to be followed later by the surrender of Stirling Castle. In December the King was driven to face a winter campaign in Scotland, and rode through the Forest of Ettrick "in a very ill season". Negotiations for a truce were opened; but the Scots persisted in hostilities. On Easter morn 1342 (21 March) the eventual freedom of Scotland was settled by the capture of Roxburgh Castle by escalade.<sup>2</sup>

Hitherto the English had never thought of attacking France except from Flanders or Guienne. Suddenly a disputed succession in Brittany opened "a new and most desirable door into the heart of France". Of all the great French feudatories none had maintained so independent a position as the Dukes of Brittany. As Peers of France by virtue of their duchy, and linked with England by the earldom of Richmond, they had succeeded to a certain extent in playing off the one allegiance

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, I. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 294-296.

against the other. At the death of John III in 1340, the duchy fell in dispute between his half-brother John de Montfort and his niece Jeanne of Penthièvre, married to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip VI. De Montfort obtained possession, while Charles appealed to the Parliament of Paris, and obtained a decree.

De Montfort then turned to the King of England, who immediately gave him the investiture of Richmond, receiving in return recognition as King of France. A deplorable war of more than twenty years' duration between the competitors ensued; promptly merged in the great struggle between England and France, it made the Hundred Years' War possible. Only the merest sketch of the incidents of this struggle can be given.

At first Philip took no 'official' part in the war, but sent his son the Duke of Normandy to support de Blois, who succeeded in reducing Nantes, and taking de Montfort prisoner. But the war was carried on by de Montfort's heroic wife, Margaret of Flanders.

In March (1342) Edward sent over Walter Manny, who relieved Margaret, closely besieged in Hennebont. Further succour was sent over under the Earl of Northampton, while on the 23rd October the King himself sailed for Brest. With his arrival the balance was sensibly turned. But Philip now joined his son, so that the conflict was no longer a Breton affair, but a full-dress Anglo-French war. With difficulty the English held their ground. In September Northampton at Morlaix had repulsed a determined French attack; but Edward had to entrench himself at Vannes, and accept Papal mediation, namely, that of the new Pope Clement VI, again a Frenchman.<sup>1</sup>

The new Pope, unlike his predecessor on every other point, had nevertheless, like him, striven to maintain peace between England and Normandy, but no agreement was reached till the following winter, Edward meanwhile remaining abroad.<sup>2</sup>

With the grants of the previous years the revenue rises to a pitch only once reached so far, nor often to be equalled in the future. The grant of the Ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece

<sup>1</sup> Benedict XII had died 25th April 1342. On the 19th May following, Pierre Roger, Archbishop of Rouen, was crowned as Clement VI.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 296-301.

contributed £38,274 18s. 2d.,<sup>1</sup> about the yield of an ordinary Fifteenth and Tenth. The clergy had given a Tenth for the war overseas, with 5d. on the mark for the war against the Scots. The Tenth yielded £36,042 13s. 3d. and the fivepence on the mark £4,728 10s. 6d.

Revenue :				£	s.	d.
Pells	.	.	.	190,429	12	1
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup>	.	.	.	2,912	0	0
				<hr/>		
				193,341	12	1
				<hr/>		

### 17 EDWARD III

1342-1343. Throughout the winter Edward remained abroad. But on the 19th January 1343 a treaty was signed at Malestrait (Morbihan) for a truce to Michaelmas, and for three years from thence. Scotland, Hainault, and Flanders to be included. As it was morally certain that the competitors would not abstain from hostilities, it was wisely added that breaches of the truce in Brittany should not involve war elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

On the 2nd March (1343) the King landed at Weymouth after a lengthy and stormy passage.<sup>4</sup>

On the 28th April a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster. Among the Petitions presented by the Commons was one praying for the withdrawal of the surtax on wool, granted in 1336 by the merchants without the concurrence of the Commons, and still levied without their consent, in addition always to the legitimate *Antiqua Custuma* of 6s. 8d. the sack. The *Parva Custuma* would be merged in the maletote. The King, however, held firm. The price of wool, he said, was now fixed by statute (i. e. the Nottingham rates), and therefore could not be affected by the maletote. The result was a Parliamentary grant of the surtax for three years and a half. But we hear that the merchants begged to be excused half of this tax, till they had been repaid for wool seized by the King at Dordrecht, a fresh piece of iniquity that has yet to be cleared up.

<sup>1</sup> See *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, Record Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Share of three years lumped together.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 296-301.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 302.

Resolutions were passed for the issue of a gold currency, as a basis for trade with Flanders, and a re-issue of silver coin for home circulation. But the gold currency, the first struck since the Conquest except the abortive issue of 1257, failed; owing to the excessive charges made for the King's seigniorage and mintage dues. Three years later fresh pieces had to be issued to be known as "Nobles", "Maille Nobles", and "Ferthing Nobles".<sup>1</sup>

The revenue still keeps up, being fed from various sources. In the course of the week ending 9th October (1342) £61,000 were transmitted abroad. But the money was found by William de la Pole and company.<sup>2</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	125,868	19	9
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	2,912	0	0
	<hr/>		
	128,780	19	9
	<hr/>		

## 18 EDWARD III

1343-1344. No English King ever encouraged tournaments to such an extent as Edward III; still forbidden without Royal leave, the Royal leave and the Royal presence could be secured whenever a tournament could be got up. The old moral and political objections seemed to have died out. The mark of the year 1344 was a tournament of unusual splendour, held at Windsor, which eventuated in the institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.<sup>4</sup>

In Brittany hostilities between the rival factions had never ceased. But Philip had taken advantage of the truce to lay treacherous hands on a whole series of Breton nobles of whom he was jealous, putting several of them to death without any form of trial—conduct as impolitic as it was wicked.<sup>5</sup>

In June (1344) a Parliament was held at Westminster, and the King took care to call the attention of the Houses to seeming infractions of the truce of which Philip had been guilty in

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 304; Ruding, I. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Pell Issue Roll, Mich. 17 Edw. III. The item does not appear on the Receipt Roll.

<sup>3</sup> Share of lumped years.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, I. 306, 307. For date see note.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 308.



Brittany; and also to the evident intention of the Scots to renew the war. The Estates were in friendly mood; but their answers betrayed a certain uneasiness at the apparent prospect of 'fruitless campaigns', alternating with 'feigned truces'. On the express condition that the King would either fight a decisive battle, or make peace, Fifteenths and Tenthhs for two years were granted. But this supply was made dependent on Edward's acceptance of sundry Articles of Petition, in compliance with which the Nottingham tariff of wool was abandoned, the price being left to be settled between vendor and purchaser. The King also undertook to find the 'wages' of all soldiers to be impressed for foreign service.

The patriotic clergy of both Provinces were also ready with their grants; and Tenthhs for three years "were reported to the King by the Parliamentary proctors, which was the usual course".<sup>1</sup> But the grants were not finally passed till the King had set his seal to a Petition for redress from sundry clerical grievances, among which we may notice interference by lay Courts with Courts Christian.

Common to clergy and laity were fresh protests against the never-ending grievance of Purveyance. The subject had been clear enough since *Magna Carta*. Provisions and cartage taken for the King's use must be paid for; the rates for cartage being even fixed. By ancient custom, however, the King was entitled to take as much corn as he wanted from the markets at 2s. the quarter below the market rate. If the rest of the price had been forthcoming, that trifling deduction might have been endured. The *Articuli super Cartas* of 1300 gave minute regulations for the adjustment of accounts between the Royal 'pernors' and 'purveyors' and the husbandmen. But when the accounts had been stated, how was payment to be enforced? The migratory habits of the Court carried the grievance into the remotest corners of the land. "Every old woman trembled for her poultry, the archbishop in his palace trembled for his household and his stud, until the King had gone by."<sup>2</sup> The answer given on this occasion was the stereotyped one: the King would order the Statutes against Purveyance to be republished, with strict injunctions to the Steward of the Household to observe them 'in all points'.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Const. Hist., II. 423.

For the yield of the lay Subsidies, the Fifteenth and Tenth of the first year produced £28,707 16s., a reduction on previous grants, and for the second year only the paltry sum £7,848 18s. 7d. For the extraordinary produce of the clerical grants we can only give the figures as officially reported, the chroniclers offering no remarks. We were told that in the late reign, owing to the ravages of the Scots in the North, the assessment of 1291 had been reduced. But early in the present reign we found that the old £20,000 was greatly exceeded, the clerical Tenths yielding £36,000 and upwards.<sup>1</sup> Now for the grants of 1344 we are faced with the astounding sums of £99,839 19s. 10d. for the first year; £34,393 11s. 1d. for the second year; and £37,070 2s. 7d. for the third year—together £171,303 13s. 6d. But reference to the Table of the entire revenue shows that ample time was given for the collection of these monstrous taxes, the revenue of the year only amounting to £75,818 9s. 1½d., and that for the next year to a trifle less. In the third year we shall get the adequate return of £157,012 17s. 4d. For the seeming expansion of the Tenths, we must suppose that under that specious name all the miscellaneous extortions to which the clergy had been subjected were passed. On the other hand, we must notice that the lay grants showed no such elasticity, but quite the reverse.

The supplies voted in this session enabled the King to carry on his preparations at leisure, and for two years he was able to dispense with summoning a Parliament, a clear breach of constitutional law.<sup>2</sup>

Of the yield of the Ninths for the second year we hear nothing. Apparently they had been applied, honestly for once, to the indemnification of persons deprived of their wool, as stipulated in Parliament. But the Customs return the extraordinary sum of £50,010 16s. 7½d., leaving less than £23,000 for the contributions from all the old sources of revenue, the County farms included.

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	72,906	9	1½
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	2,912	0	0
	<hr/>		
	75,818	9	1½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> See Table V.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 308, 309.

<sup>3</sup> Share of lumped years.

## 19 EDWARD III

1344-1345. The grants obtained from the nation since 1336, liberal as they were thought to be at the time, had been altogether incommensurate with the rate of Edward's expenditure; he had been able to borrow, because the Italians had probably found their dealings with the first two Edwards profitable, and so had been led to trust a third of the name. The King's foreign allies had been hired with Florentine gold, and the leading Florentine Houses were now reduced to a state of hopeless insolvency. In January 1345 the great historic firm of the Bardi became bankrupt, "a catastrophe which plunged all Florence in distress". The King owed them 900,000 gold florins (£300,000), he owed the Peruzzi 600,000 florins, and they and other firms succumbed likewise.<sup>1</sup> Little of this money can have figured in our accounts. The bulk of it must have been spent in enlisting foreign allies and extravagant personal expenditure while the King was abroad (1338-1340).

The year 1345 was taken up with seeming negotiations for peace, and real preparations for war. After Easter a stimulus was given to the war by the appearance of de Montfort, who had made his escape from the Louvre. He promptly did homage to Edward as King of France. On the 26th May the Pope was informed that the truce was at an end; Philip had cut it short by outrages on the Gascons. Plans for simultaneous attacks on France from Brittany and Guienne had been arranged. In June Bohun, Earl of Northampton, was sent to Brittany to support de Montfort; while a little later the Earl of Derby, Henry of Grossmount,<sup>2</sup> was shipped off to Bordeaux. Edward himself undertook a personal trip to Flanders, to keep up his connexions there, and possibly to support Van Artevelde, whose position was seriously shaken and in fact tottering to its fall. By persuading Edward to fix the English wool Staple at Bruges, he had gained for his countrymen the entire command of the English wool market. Genoese, Lombards, Catalans, and

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 416 citing Villani, XI. 291 (Muratori); Genesis, I. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Henry Wryneck, brother of Thomas, who had been reinstated at Edward's accession.

Spaniards complained that they could get no English wool. But Artevelde's manners were unpopular, and he lived like a prince among princes, in a style offensive to the democracy on whose support he had to depend.

On the 3rd July Edward sailed from Sandwich, the Prince of Wales going with him, his first trip across the Channel. On the 7th July Van Artevelde had an interview with the King on board his ship at Sluys. He returned to Ghent to find the city in a state of commotion. At night his mansion was surrounded by a howling mob, demanding an account of public money spent by him. He endeavoured to escape but was caught and brutally murdered.<sup>1</sup>

Edward returned to England deploring the loss of his ally. Within a couple of months he found himself bereft of another friend by the death of his brother-in-law William II of Hainault. The great alliance was thus finally broken up; but for the purposes of the King of England the loss of such allies was solid gain.

The campaign in Brittany bore little fruit, possibly in consequence of the death of de Montfort, who passed away on the 27th September. His little son was hailed by the party as Duke John. He had already been betrothed to the Lady Mary born within the year.<sup>2</sup>

In the South, Derby achieved a series of brilliant successes. He had the support of the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke,<sup>3</sup> and of Walter Manny. His operations took the shape of three petty campaigns. The first was directed against Bergerac, on the Dordogne, the head-quarters of the Count of Lille-Jourdain, Philip's Lieutenant; a breach was effected in the palisades of the town with shipping brought from Bordeaux; the townsmen surrendered, Lille-Jourdain and his knights galloping off by night to La Réole. The Earl then overran Périgord, as far North as Bourdeilles.

The next campaign was undertaken at a moment's notice to relieve Auberoche, attacked by Lille-Jourdain with all the forces of Périgord and French Gascony. Derby fell on Jourdain's

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 312-314.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence, Lord Hastings, whose father John had succeeded to some of the De Valence estates and the title.

camp by night and captured him and all his barons and knights. For the numbers engaged, the *noblesse* of Languedoc never had a more costly day.

After an interval of repose Derby made his third start from Bordeaux, and with astonishing ease carried eight strongholds, beginning with La Réole and ending with Angoulême.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the Subsidies voted in the previous year the revenue sinks a trifle, but Subsidies were always slow of coming in. The Customs, on the other hand, rise above £50,000.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	72,806	1	5½
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2,873	0	0
	<hr/>		
	75,679	1	5½
	<hr/>		

## 20 EDWARD III

1345-1346. The eventful year 1346 opened with preparations for a campaign upon a grander scale than any yet undertaken. Edward by this time had brought himself to believe that he really had a right to the Crown of France, rejecting cavalierly the persistent efforts in the cause of peace made by Clement VI, who pressed Edward at any rate to allow the truce to run on till Michaelmas.

As a preliminary to enforcing his pretensions, he called for a return from all the counties south of the Trent of the names of all persons owning 100s. of land or upwards ; persons worth 100s. to provide an archer ; those worth £10 to provide a hobeler ; and those worth £25 a year to provide a man-at-arms, and so on. From the Exchequer records we learn that these returns were demanded, not for the purpose of actually raising men for service, but for extorting compositions in lieu of men. The scale of these was fixed at 20s. for an archer ; £3 6s. 8d. for a hobeler ; and £6 13s. 4d. for a man-at-arms. The whole proceeding of course was grossly illegal, a mere repetition of the fines "*ne transfretent*" of Richard and John ; while the King

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 314-316.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lumped years.



had specially promised the last Parliament that he would find the pay of all men serving abroad. Great opposition was encountered, and the total money raised only amounted to £3,000.<sup>1</sup> For the forces raised, a nominal return of the military tenants and their retainers gives about 800 lances, with 100 provided by the Londoners, and also 241 men assessed to find men-at-arms who preferred to serve in person, say some 1,200 lances in all.

These figures may be trusted. For the other army of the force we hear of 3,580 archers from counties south of the Trent, with 100 from the County Palatine of Chester, and 3,500 Welshmen; the latter to be half bowmen and half spearmen. Of hobelers or light-horse (mounted infantry), we have a total of 1,743.<sup>2</sup> These figures must be taken to represent the numbers that the sheriffs were ordered to return, not the numbers that they were able to collect. Military service was essentially distasteful to the English lower orders, and we have seen the lengths to which English governments were driven in getting men for war across the Border. For the archers 5,000 would be a liberal estimate.

The King's financial arrangements were carried out in generally high-handed fashion. The clear revenues of all benefices held by foreigners were 'borrowed'; Benevolences to the tune of £15,000 were exacted from the native clergy; while quantities of wheat, malt, oats, bacon, and salt beef were requisitioned,<sup>3</sup> but not without indignant protests.

On the 11th July Edward finally sailed with an army which comprised the whole flower of the English baronage, with the Prince of Wales at its head.<sup>4</sup> The general belief was that the King was bound for Gascony, to support his gallant cousin Henry, now become Earl of Lancaster through the death of his father Wryneck. Again the King might have chosen Brittany for his field of operations, where he might have assured the success of the House of Dreux, and established a friendly power on the Loire. But once more, lending an ear to the insidious counsels of an exile, Geoffrey de Harcourt, he chose an attack on Normandy, where he could meet with nothing but opposition,

<sup>1</sup> Pell Receipt Roll, Mich. 21 Edw. III.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, III. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Id. I. 56-85; Knighton, Decem Scriptt. 2585.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, I. 316-319.

and accomplish nothing but devastation, a mere raid. On the 12th July a landing was effected at La Hogue in the Cotentin. There Edward knighted his son and held a Grand Council, and obtained from the complaisant magnates a re-grant of the old Aid for knighting the eldest son, renounced by himself in 1340. The Lords voted the tax without asking for any concurrence on the part of the Commons, and voted it at 40s. the knight's fee, twice the old rate; they were also liberal enough to grant extra Customs' duties of 2s. the sack of wool and 6*d.* on the £1 of general merchandise, altogether signal breaches of the statute of 1340.<sup>1</sup>

Advancing by Valognes, Carantan, and Saint-Lô, on the 26th July the English found themselves outside Caen, a place described as 'larger than any city in England, except London'. Nowhere on their march had they found any friends; everywhere the bridges were broken down against them; everywhere they themselves burned all towns, and pillaged and destroyed for leagues around them. Caen was invested and stormed with all the horrors of a medieval sack, all but the castle, where the Bishop of Bayeux was established.<sup>2</sup>

On the 31st July Edward moved on. His object, apparently, was to effect a junction with a mixed body of English and Flemish troops appointed to operate on the Flemish border. Advancing to the line of the Seine, Edward was obliged to ascend the river as high as Poissy, before he could find a crossing (16 August).

Philip's inaction seems extraordinary. He was at Saint-Germain at the time; but fell back to Saint-Denis, out of reach, at the same time issuing a ridiculous challenge for a 'day'.

Meanwhile Edward was making his way across the plains of Picardy by forced marches, apparently with the simple object of getting safely out of France. On reaching the line of the Somme at Abbeville, for two or three days he seemed in a predicament, all fords and bridges being held against him, while Philip was at hand with forces growing more formidable every day, and his own supplies running short. It seemed as if the whole English host was in danger of being "entangled in the land and cut off". A native, however, was found to point out a practicable ford

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 322; L. T. R. Enrolled Customs Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 322-324.

ten miles below Abbeville, and the whole army crossed in safety (24 August). Pressing on, Edward encamped in the forest outside the village of Crécy.<sup>1</sup>

Continuous retreat destroys the *moral* of an army, and Edward's raid had now ceased to be anything but a retreat. Edward declared that he would go no farther; he would fight the French on the soil of Ponthieu, his inheritance.

On the 26th August Edward led his army from their camping-ground in the forest to the site selected by his officers, outside the village of Crécy, on the slopes of a plateau, along the road from Crécy to Wadicourt, at a right angle to the road by which the French would be coming from Abbeville. In front the ground fell away with a considerable declivity to the little "*Vallée des Clercs*"; their right was protected by a sharp fall in the ground and the village of Crécy. The French would have to skirt the forest and village of Crécy, and deliver a frontal attack or rather a series of frontal attacks against the successive English divisions. These in accordance with established custom all fought on foot, in three divisions. Each division had its complement of archers projected from the line of the men-at-arms, as hollow wedges broad at base and pointed at top, so as to take the advancing forces of the enemy on the flank. They would doubtless be defended by stakes, or *cheveaux de frise* in front of them. Three little cannon were placed under their charge, but gunpowder had been in use for years, as the reader knows.

The right division was under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales, but the real command of Warwick the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Oxford and the insidious ally Geoffrey of Harcourt; their extreme right wing would rest on the brink of the bank overlooking Crécy. The left division, on a line with the right, was commanded by Northampton the Constable and the Earl of Arundel; the main or centre division between them was nominally under the King, but in fact he took up a post of observation at the foot of a windmill, behind the English right. The foundations of the windmill are still traceable.

The horses and baggage were picketed in the rear. No reinforcements had been received since the army sailed. Each

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 324-328.

division would thus show its 400 lances with a wing of archers, say 800 strong, projected on either flank.

Among Philip's followers and allies were found his standing guest, King John of Bohemia, and his son Charles, the Papalist King of the Romans, with James III, King of Majorca. A magnificent array, it greatly exceeded the English in numbers; but, like it, was arrayed in three divisions. Philip had also an effective body of Genoese crossbowmen.

Afternoon had come before he appeared on the field, having taken a circuitous course round Crécy, bringing him face to face with the English, or more exactly with the English right. Prudence suggested a halt to breathe the army after a long march, and to review the situation. With their superior numbers they might easily have turned the English left. But the French chivalry were deaf to all strategic considerations, and so, pressing on, the van at once hurled itself on the English right, the other divisions wheeling to the right to deal successively with the English centre and left, the English line being drawn at an angle to the direction of the French advance, as already mentioned. Wave after wave came forward in successive attacks, to break on the stubborn lines of grounded spears, while the archery played on their flanks. The brunt of these successive attacks fell on the Prince's division, which directly faced their advance. At one time he felt constrained to appeal to the King for reinforcements. But Edward from his post of observation refused to interfere. 'Let the boy win his spurs,' he said.<sup>1</sup>

But the French were not staved off with one repulse, nor yet with two or three. Fifteen several assaults were reckoned by the English before the French were beaten off. The English hardly knew how complete their victory was. Edward kept his men under arms on the field all night. Among those who succumbed on the French side was the King of Bohemia. Resuming his advance, on the 4th of September Edward reached the walls of Calais; he had resolved to crown his raid by making a conquest of that important landing-stage. The place was invested, and a city of huts protected by earthworks established

<sup>1</sup> So Froissart. According to Baker, 84, Edward did send twenty men-at-arms. (Note the strength of the alleged reinforcement.)



for the army. "Villeneuve-la-Hardie" Edward named it in his pride.<sup>1</sup>

But the day of Crécy was not the only victory of the year. David II, King of Scots, having ventured after a successful raid to remain for two whole days on the same spot, and then, again forgetful of his father's precepts, having calmly awaited the English onslaught, paid the penalty by suffering a complete defeat, himself being taken prisoner (17 October, Battle of Neville's Cross). He was brought in triumph to London and carried in mock state to the Tower, destined to be his chief abode for eleven years to come.

In September a Parliament had been held under the King's second surviving son Lionel of Antwerp. The Commons had their grumble, to which they were quite entitled. They complained of the continued exaction of the 40s. duty on wool; the seizure of provisions without payment; and the exaction of fines as commutation for service abroad. The 'grant' of the 40s. Aid for knighting the King's son, however, and the extra Customs imposed at La Hogue by the Lords, escaped comment, and a Fifteenth from Counties and Boroughs was granted for two years, if the war should last so long. The clergy in Convocation, for the defence of the realm, granted a Tenth in October, with another in January 1347. The lay grant yielded for the first year £37,479 18s. 10d.; and for the second year £36,241 7s. 2d. The clerical Tenths gave for the first year £50,680 14s. 3d., and for the second year £48,111 1s. 1d. For the Aid for knighting the King's son granted at La Hogue at £2 the knight's fee, the return is wanting, but as the return of an Aid for marrying a daughter of the King, of which we shall hear, produced £10,632 3s. 2d., we may safely allow as much.

The gold coinage issued in 1343 had failed, and been recalled, as already stated. New pieces were now issued (1346), "Nobles", forty-two to the pound and worth 6s. 8d. (half-marks), but not to be legal tender for more than 20s. The King for his seigniorage of each pound of gold to have 6d., the Master of the Mint 8d. for his expenses, and the merchant the remainder. The King took advantage of the opportunity for further debasing the currency. The penny, which after its first reduction in 1300 had stood at

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 322-336 and the plan of the battle there.



22½ grains Troy, between the year 1344 and the present year was reduced to 20 grains, a total depreciation of rather more than 10 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

Edward had already been coining gold in Flanders in his own name.<sup>2</sup>

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	154,139	17	4
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	2,873	0	0
	<hr/>		
	157,012	17	4
	<hr/>		

## 21 EDWARD III

1346-1347. All through the winter, spring, and summer of 1346-1347 the siege of Calais dragged on, throwing a great strain on England's resources. From the month of September 1346, when the blockade began, till the place surrendered in August 1347, we have a continuous stream of calls for ships and men and stores. Then there were troops on foot in Flanders, and troops on foot in Brittany ; there was the army in Scotland ; and there were garrisons in Aquitaine ; altogether the Government was sorely pressed for money. All the old expedients were brought into requisition with some new ones. Loans, large and small, were contracted with merchants, native and foreign ; natives who refused to lend were attached, and brought before the Council. On the 3rd March 1347 the Regent obtained from a small council of merchants a form of sanction or legislation for the duties kindly granted by the magnates at La Hogue, in the previous year, namely an export duty of 2s. on the sack of wool, and import duties of 2s. on the *tonel* of wine, and 6d. on the £1 of general merchandise. Arrangements for an operation in wool of the sort already described were made ; 20,000 sacks were to be borrowed from the owners, on the security, apparently, of the current Subsidies ; the merchants would take the wool at a price, and account for the same to the Treasury. The trans-

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, I. 222 ; Hawkins, Silver Coins of England, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding.

<sup>3</sup> Share of lumped sum.

action would probably be profitable to the merchants, who received large discounts and allowances; but oppressive to the owners of the wool, and ruinous to the general trade, which was paralysed for the time being, the exportation of all other wool being forbidden. Supervisors were appointed to hustle the collectors of Customs and draw on them for the proceeds in advance, while, finally, in August, the clergy who had been called upon for wool in April, and of course had their current Tenth to face, were subjected to further requisitions in wool or money, a mere unauthorized tallage.

All this time Edward was sitting quietly before Calais. Philip's neglect of the besieged garrison passes comprehension. Not till the 25th March (1347) did he call a Council of Notables to lend help towards avenging the defeat of Crécy. Supplies were voted, and an early day fixed for a muster. But the 8th June had come before the Duke of Normandy appeared in the field, when he made sundry attempts to approach Calais from the East. But he found the English position unassailable. An intercepted letter of the 25th June to Philip from the governor, Jean de Vienne, declared that 'cannibalism or a sally stared him in the face'. At last on the 27th July the French army was seen approaching from Guines. But the English position was not more open to assault from the West than from the East. On the 2nd August Philip fired his camp and retired in despair. De Vienne then lowered his flag and asked to treat. Life and limb for all within the walls was all that he asked. This much was granted, but de Vienne with fifteen other knights, and as many citizens, were sent as prisoners of war to England; while the bulk of the population were provisionally turned out of house and home, and sent into the world with nothing more than they could carry in their hands.<sup>1</sup>

Edward was determined to secure his hold on the landing-place by making it an English town, not only "a strong place of arms", but a commercial centre. In pursuance of this policy, in the following month of April, Calais was declared the sole Staple for all tin, lead, feathers, cloth, and worsted to be exported for seven years, merchants before leaving England to be sworn to carry such goods to Calais and nowhere else.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 345-348, and authorities there.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 351.

On the 12th October Edward landed at Sandwich after an absence of just fifteen months.

We append the accounts of Walter of Wetewang, Treasurer of the Household, for wages of war 4th June 1346—12th October 1347. The reader will notice the rates of pay. The Prince draws 20s. a day; a bishop 6s. 8d., the same as an earl; barons 4s.; knights 2s.; esquires (men-at-arms) 1s.

In the spring a well-equipped little army under Edward Balliol had been sent across the Border, and obtained the cession of the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dumfries, with the districts of Carrick and Galloway.<sup>1</sup>

What with legal Subsidies, transactions in wool and other extortions, the year's revenue comes nearly up to that of the 12th year, the year of the prior dealing in wool, the highest of the reign. On the other hand, as anticipated, the Customs of this year and the next are by far the lowest of the reign, sinking to £3,527 and £1,370 respectively.

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	226,113	5	5
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2,873	0	0
	<hr/>		
	228,986	5	5
	<hr/>		

Account of Walter Wetewang, Treasurer of the Household, for wages of war in the retinue of King Edward III in the parts of Normandy, France, and round Calais, 4th June 20 Edw. III (1346) to 12th October 21 Edw. III (1347), namely for one year and 131 days.<sup>3</sup>

<i>Rates of pay.</i>	<i>Number of persons.</i>
At 20s. od. a day	The Prince.
6s. 8d. „	The Bishop of Durham.
„ „ „	Earls, 15.
4s. od. „	Barons and Bannerets, 44.
2s. od. „	Knights ( <i>milites</i> ), 1,046.
1s. od. „	Esquires ( <i>scutiferi</i> ), Constables, Hundreders ( <i>centenarii</i> ) and Leaders ( <i>Ductores</i> ), 4,022.
6d. „	Twentymen ( <i>vigintenarii</i> ) and horse-archers, 5,104.
„ „	Pauncenarii, 355.
„ „	Hobelers, 500.
3d. „	Archers on foot, 15,480.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 339-343.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lumped sum.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Brady, Hist. England, II, Appendix 86, from a manuscript in his possession.

*Rates of pay (contd.).**Number of persons (contd.).*

At from 3*d.* to 12*d.* a day *Cementarii, Carpentarii, Fabri, Ingeniatores, Pavilionarii, Minarii, Armatores, Gunnatores, and Artillarii*, 314.

At 4*d.* vinteners, rest at 2*d.*, Welsh foot, 4,474.

Masters, constables, mariners, and *pagetti* of 700 ships, barges, balingers and victualling ships (*vitalliariorum*), 16,000.

Total of men without the *Domini*, 31,294.

Total of wages, £127,201 2*s.* 9*d.*

Here it may be pointed out that the total wages at the given rates for the given number of soldiers, if all had been employed for the 496 days, without any allowance for the sailors, would come to £349,651 1*s.* 4*d.*, little more therefore than a third of the 31,294 men, say 11,000 men, can have been employed on the average during the whole time. If the £127,201 2*s.* 9*d.* includes pay for the sailors, as it presumably did, the average number would only come to 7,000 men.<sup>1</sup>

## 22 EDWARD III

1347-1348. The return to England under such circumstances was naturally followed by a period of triumphal carousal, and the festivities of course took the shape of tilts and tournaments. On the 24th June (1348) an especially grand tournament was held at Windsor, marked by the final establishment of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, which had been in a state of incubation since the beginning of 1344.

Meanwhile business had not been neglected. On the 14th January a Parliament had met at Westminster. The King asked for the advice of the lieges, first as to the conduct of the war, 'which had been undertaken by common consent', and secondly as to the better maintenance of the peace at home. But he did not ask for any grant. The Commons took the King at his word. They made no offer of a Subsidy, and they disclaimed giving any advice about so great a matter as war. Whatever His Highness and the Great Men of His Council would please to ordain the Commons would hold as firm and established. Upon the subject of the peace of the realm the Commons had plenty

<sup>1</sup> For the organization of the army by twenties and hundreds, commanded by Twentymen and Hundreders or Constables, see Dawn, p. 342, and Chancery Miscell. Bundle 3, No. 18.

to say. Brigandage flourished under the sheltering protection of magnates;<sup>1</sup> powerful criminals could purchase Royal pardons at will (Articles 6, 53, 62); new forms of treason were daily elaborated by the ingenuity of the Royal judges (15); the course of justice was paralysed by the extension of the private franchises (17); Commissions of Array were still being issued; Prisage and Purveyance were indulged in as freely as ever; the King's 'men' quartered themselves on private houses without proper billets from the Marshal, and went off in the morning without making payment; the King's studs were driven from parish to parish, eating up the country (16, 33, 37, 57). Complaint was also made of the impressment of shipping—a grievance hitherto passed over with little notice (57). Fresh protests were entered against the exaction of loans by the Privy Council; and the continuance of old and new surtaxes on wool, wine, cloth, and tin—all without due sanction (11, 28, 29, 31). The extortions practised by the farmers of the Customs, and the purchasers of the wool 'borrowed' from the counties, were dragged to light (38, 49, 54, 58, 61). Again, the government had undertaken to provide convoy to Flanders, on receiving an insurance premium of 1s. a sack. The shillings had been taken, but no convoy provided, whereby some merchants lost their wool, others their wool and their lives as well (58, cf. 68). To crown all, such parcels of wool as succeeded in making their way to Bruges found the market there destroyed by differential dues levied by the Flemings (10, 58). On two points the Commons prayed for statutory enactments. They begged, first for a definition of the crime of treason, and secondly for a prohibition of Papal 'Provisions' (15, 50, 63). The complaint under this last head was especially full and emphatic. With every allowance made for exaggeration ample grounds for complaint will still remain.<sup>2</sup>

The Parliament having proved a failure, the King within two days of its rising issued writs for a fresh session. Wasting no time by beating about the bush, he told the Commons at once that he must have a Subsidy. The Commons, after recapitulating

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Baker, 179. In the previous year John Dalton carried off Dame Margery de la Beche and committed two murders in doing so; Foed. III. 114, 118. For disorders near Bristol, see *id.* 126.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 353-355.



the burdens to which they had been subjected, on condition, among other things, that the grant should not be anticipated or 'turned into wool', that the 40s. duty on wool should cease, and no such duty ever again be granted by the merchants, agreed to give Fifteenths and Tenths for three years, if the war should last so long.<sup>1</sup>

These yielded the first year £34,455 3s. 10d.; the second year £32,021 19s. 1d.; and the third year £32,733 2s. 11d. Of the grant of these Subsidies the Commons had made it a condition that the Aid the King was demanding for the marriage of his daughter Jeanne of the Tower, betrothed to the Infante Pedro, eldest son of Alfonso XI of Castile, should not be exacted. But exacted it was, and to the tune of £10,632 3s. 2d.<sup>2</sup> The little Princess, however, died on the way to Spain.

The King now began to show an inclination towards peace in general. In April negotiations had been opened for the liberation of David II. Scottish envoys had been invited to London. But Edward demanded a larger ransom than the envoys were prepared to promise. With France a truce was signed to last to the 1st September 1349.<sup>3</sup>

The time indeed was one to bury the hatchet and make peace, when the Destroying Angel was knocking at each man's door. From the far East, from time-honoured, death-dealing "centres of faith and pilgrimage", the Black Death or bubonic plague came rolling over the western world. In January 1348 it appeared in Provence. On the 7th July it made its appearance on the Dorsetshire coast, having evidently been brought by sea. Westwards and northwards it travelled on to Bristol, and soon reached Oxford. By the 1st November the plague had made its way down the Thames to London. The mortality had been such as to interfere with the harvesting of the autumn; women and children had to be put to field-work.<sup>4</sup>

Revenue :		£	s.	d.
Pells	.	126,089	9	2½
Wardrobe	.	500	0	0
		<hr/>		
		126,589	9	2½
		<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 354-356.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 356. The rate of the Aid does not appear on the Parliament Roll.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 357, 358.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 358, 359.

## 23 EDWARD III

1348-1349. To follow up the history of the First Plague, in January (1349) it appeared in Norwich and thence spread northwards. A Parliament summoned for the 19th of the month had to be countermanded. The courts of law were closed. The King "threw everything on the Chancellor" and retired to Langley.

About Whitsuntide the Plague had spent its fury in London, and was raging at York. There it had done its work by July; Lancashire was not reached till the autumn. Within twelve months' time three Archbishops of Canterbury succumbed, namely John Stratford, John of Offord, the Chancellor, and the Oxford scholar, mathematician, and theologian, distinguished among Schoolmen as *Doctor Profundus*, Thomas of Bradwardine.

With respect to the mortality, the only class as to which the evidence is conclusive is that of the clergy, and it is clear that both monks and parish priests fell "like leaves before the gale". But we must point out that the parochial clergy in discharge of their sacred duties would be the most exposed to infection of any class; while the crowded dormitories of monastic houses, if once infected, would become hotbeds of disease.<sup>1</sup>

For the mortality among the agricultural population the most telling piece of evidence is the fact that for some sorts of labour wages were doubled. But it would be rash to infer that half the population had fallen. A sudden diminution having occurred among the hands bound to servile labour, those free to dispose of their time would make their own terms.

The social and economic results of the Great Plague were very considerable. If the highest rates of wages were not maintained, still a substantial general increase was established, leading to prolonged struggles between the Government and the landlords on the one hand, and the labourers on the other hand, the former seeking to keep down wages by legislative enactments, the latter resisting their efforts with complete success. From first to last the labourers proved masters of the situation. In spite of proclamations and penal acts, employers had to come in to the men's terms, or submit to see their land lie fallow. But

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 358-363; q.v. for details.

to a great extent the bond tenants refused to remain under bondage conditions. With good day's wages to be earned elsewhere, they threw up their holdings, absconded, and so bought their freedom by severing their connexion with the land.<sup>1</sup>

At such a period no thought of active war could be entertained. On the 3rd May (1349) the truce with France was extended to the 16th May 1350.

With the triennial Fifteenths still running, the revenue sinks somewhat, but the Customs disappear, unreturned.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	99,478	7	5½
Wardrobe . . . . .	500	0	0
	<hr/>		
	99,978	7	5½
	<hr/>		

## 24 EDWARD III

1349-1350. During the year 1350 England was still in a state of collapse ; no Parliament was held ; but preliminary ordinances against the rise in wages were issued, forbidding servants to demand, or employers to give more than the rates current in 1346. Few salient incidents happened, but on two occasions the King's energy and love of fighting were again made manifest. The first was in connexion with a plot laid by the French for the recovery of Calais, in violation of the truce. Geoffrey de Chargny, governor of Saint-Omer, offered money to one Amerigo, an Italian Free Lance in Edward's service, who was stationed in the castle. Amerigo took the gold and sent word to Edward. A careful trap was then laid to entrap de Chargny, and the King and Prince of Wales went over quietly to see to its execution. When the day for admission of the French came, de Chargny was taken over the castle, to satisfy himself that the coast was clear, and no foul play to be feared. But Edward had built in a body of men behind a mock wall that escaped detection. He had also weakened the drawbridge, and posted a man on the gate-house with a huge stone, to crush the drawbridge at the proper moment. The first detachment of the French were then admitted in the dark, and at once overpowered by the men in

<sup>1</sup> See Seebohm, *Fortnightly Review*, II. 272.

ambush, while the destruction of the drawbridge cut off help from outside. Then the King and the Prince, sallying from gates on opposite sides of the town, fell on the main body coming up along a narrow causeway, and surrounded them. The King was in the thick of the fight, laying about him and shouting "Ha! Edward Saint George!" "Ha! Edward Saint George!" He had the glory of overcoming one Eustace de Ribeaumont, a distinguished French knight, in single combat. Edward was so pleased that he set Eustace free and gave him a handsome chaplet of pearls.<sup>1</sup>

The other incident of the year was a naval engagement, a new sphere of action, into which the King plunged fearlessly. An armed Spanish fleet, trading with the Low Countries for cloth, was charged with having plundered English wine ships. To intercept them on their return, Edward went down to Winchelsea with his whole Court circle. About the 28th August he established himself on his favourite "cog" the *Thomas*, with a flotilla of some fifty sail in all. On the afternoon of 29th August the enemy came boldly on. They are stated to have had but forty or forty-four ships in all, but of much heavier burden, with castles on their poops, fairly over-topping the English craft. A desperate hand-to-hand boarding action ensued, the archers sweeping the enemy's decks as they drew near. The King boldly charged a leading Spaniard; the Royal cog was nearly sunk by the impact; her mast was snapped in two, with difficulty the King was transferred to another vessel. The Prince of Wales found himself in even greater danger; his vessel was on the point of sinking when he was rescued. When night came on, seventeen ships had been taken by the English. For years the nation treasured the memory of the 'Battle of the Spaniards on the sea'.<sup>2</sup>

Just a week earlier Philip of Valois, the sixth of the name, had passed away. He was succeeded by his son, hitherto Duke of Normandy, fondly known as *Jean le Bon*; he was a light-hearted man, led by unworthy advisers, perhaps a better man, but not a better king than his father. The truce between

<sup>1</sup> So Avebury. Was Edward speaking English or French? The words might be either; Genesis, I. 364, 365.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 365-367.

England and France was held to have lapsed with Philip's death. Edward was prepared to extend the armistice to the 1st August 1351. But King John refused his consent—an initial piece of folly, which might be put down to braggadocio.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	132,757	12	8½
Wardrobe . . . . .	263	0	0
	<hr/>		
	133,020	12	8½
	<hr/>		

## 25 EDWARD III

1350-1351. Hostilities with France were resumed soon after the New Year. In Brittany the predatory warfare carried on in the names of the two Ducal competitors had never ceased. Mid-Lent Sunday was signalized by a desperate duel fought by appointment within lists between thirty Bretons of the de Blois faction and an equal number of the English side. These being unable to muster more than twenty of their countrymen had to make up their number with Bretons, Germans, and Flemings. After a lengthy struggle, broken by an interval for breathing-time, the English were beaten; eight men and the captain were killed; the rest then surrendered. Among the latter were Hugh Calverley and his kinsman Robert Knowles, the great future Free Lance and master of the art of war.<sup>1</sup> After Easter, Henry of Lancaster, just created Duke—the second man promoted to that dignity in English history—landed in France, on his way to join a Crusade in Prussia against the heathen Letts. An attack on Boulogne failed; to make up for this disappointment he wasted the country from Étamples to Saint-Omer. Later, John Beauchamp was sent out to plunder and to harry. By the month of September both parties were so weary of the war that a truce was signed to the 12th September 1352.<sup>2</sup>

In the South the French recovered Poitiers and Saint-Jean-d'Angelys. But in Brittany and Picardy the war again for a while died down.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 371.

<sup>3</sup> Id.



To return to domestic politics. After an interval of nearly three years, on the 9th February 1351, the Estates were again brought together, and met at Westminster. Four Acts were passed, three of them at the instance of the Commons. Among the minor enactments were measures for enforcing the provisions of the Statute of Northampton for the due "ulnages", i. e. the standard admeasurements of pieces of cloth, which were subject to a small excise duty. Another chapter enforces the Statute of York of the 9th year for securing the freedom of domestic trade, whether carried on by 'aliens or denizens'. As a set-off to this the third chapter prohibits all 'forestalling', that is to say, wholesale dealings and speculative transactions in goods and commodities, such operations being held conducive to the enhancement of prices. But the Acts numbered as the 2nd and 4th of the year were the really interesting measures, being the celebrated Acts respectively known as the Statute of Labourers and the First Statute of Provisors.<sup>1</sup> In 1343 sweeping penalties of imprisonment and forfeiture had been enacted against all persons introducing Papal Bulls for 'prejudicial' purposes, or for getting possession of Church preferment by virtue of the same. But no definite mode of procedure was prescribed. The present measure seems to grapple more vigorously with the evil. It 'establishes and ordains' that the rights of canonical electors, and of spiritual and lay patrons shall be respected; it orders all Provisors (i. e. persons availing themselves of Papal Bulls), or their proctors, to be arrested, and kept in prison, until they shall make 'fine and redemption' to the King's satisfaction; it declares all presentations made by Papal 'Provisions' or 'Reservations' to be wholly void, and confers the right of filling up such vacancies upon the King, at least in all cases where the invaded patronage belonged to spiritual patrons. It will be seen that the party who gained most by the Act was the party most to blame for the continuance of Provisions, namely, the King, a point to which we shall refer more fully below.<sup>2</sup>

The Statute of Labourers gave Parliamentary sanction to the ordinances, already published by the King in Council, against the 'malice of servants' who refused to serve 'Great Men and others' for the wages accustomed before the Plague. Labourers

<sup>1</sup> Statutes, I. 311, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 374.

must hire themselves out by the year, and not by the day ; hay must be mown for 5*d.* the acre, the current prices being from 6*d.* to 12*d.* ; a quarter of wheat or rye must be threshed for 2½*d.*, ' if so much was given before ', the current rates being 3*d.* and 4*d.* the quarter.<sup>1</sup> The regulations extended to all descriptions of handworkers, carpenters, stone-masons, tilers, bargemen, shoemakers, jewellers, tailors, and the like. All kinds of servants, artificers and workmen must be sworn before justices to lend their services for rates of pay below those obtainable in the open market. " Ceppes " (stocks) must be set up in every town for the punishment of ' rebels '. Altogether the Act was a vigorous attempt to make water flow uphill.

No Subsidy was voted, probably because the triennial grants made in 1348 were not yet exhausted, but the 40*s.* duty on wool was at last voted, and voted for two years. Weary of protesting against unconstitutional grants obtained from magnates or merchant assemblies, the Commons probably came to the conclusion that if they submitted to vote the tax themselves they might eventually obtain a substantial control over it. The day that Parliament rose the King issued writs for Convocations, and obtained from the clergy grants of Tenths for two years.

The Biennial Tenths granted by Convocation yielded for the first year £17,423 19*s.* 4*d.* ; and for the second year £46,018 18*s.* 5*d.*, together making £63,441, or £31,720 10*s.* for each year, a full third above the valuation of 1291.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	157,437	14	9½
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2,321	0	0
	<hr/>		
	159,758	14	9½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, II. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lumped sum.

## 26 EDWARD III

1351-1352. On the 13th January (1352) a session of Parliament was again held at Westminster. William of Shareshill, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, opened the proceedings. He dwelt on the King's 'succession by inheritance' to the Crown of France, and the continued resistance to the King's 'rights' offered by 'John the son of his late adversary'. The King requested the Commons to be ready on the morrow to 'advise on such matters'. To expedite business, Shareshill suggested the appointment of a delegation to meet some of the Great Men. Two days later "the whole House presented itself". The upshot of several conferences was that the Commons again voted Fifteenths and Tenths for three years, and the King agreed to pass several Acts, of which the most important was the so-called Statute of Treason. The recent multiplication of "constructive" treasons had already been matter of complaint; the King therefore agreed that for the future the legal offence should be limited to the following cases: (1) Compassing the death of the King, his Queen, or his eldest son; (2) Debauching the Queen, the eldest unmarried daughter of the King, or the wife of his eldest son; (3) Levying war against the King within the realm; (4) Adhering to the King's enemies within the realm, or giving them comfort or aid within or without the realm; (5) Counterfeiting the Great Seal, or the King's money; (6) Importing base coin, knowing the same to be base; (7) Slaying the Chancellor, the Treasurer, or any one of the King's Justices, being in his 'place' and doing his office. To establish a conviction under either of the first four heads, the Act requires an overt act to be alleged and proved to the satisfaction of a jury of persons of the same condition in life as the accused.

The fifth and sixth heads have been repealed to make way for more suitable enactments: the other sections remain the law of the land to this day. It may be noticed that conspiracy to levy war against the King is not specified as a treasonable act, a clear omission, which has been met in practice by charging such acts as cases of 'compassing' the King's death.<sup>1</sup>

Edward had not been able to make much of his Royal

<sup>1</sup> Statutes, I. 319; Genesis, I. 376-377.

prisoner, David of Scotland. In spite of constant efforts he had failed to bring the Scots to agree to 'final peace'. At first he wanted money; that not being forthcoming, he fell back on the old homage question, demanding a recognition of the overlordship of England as the price of the Scottish King's liberation. If the homage could be obtained, apparently Edward was ready to sacrifice Balliol. David came into the scheme, and arrangements were made for allowing him to visit Scotland. On the 25th March (1352) he sealed a recognition of homage and was allowed to cross the Border. The Scots with one voice rejected the proposal, and the unfortunate King returned into captivity, his wife Queen Joan remaining in the country of her adoption.

Apparently the Scottish magnates were not very anxious to have their King back, "For every one rulid yn his owne cuntry."<sup>1</sup>

The three years' Fifteenths and Tenths were eventually returned in a lump sum as amounting to £111,048 14s. 3d., evidently representing £37,000 for each year.

The Customs with 40s. on the sack of wool rise to £54,305 18s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Revenue:

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	121,368	13	10
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2,321	0	0
	<hr/>		
	123,689	13	10
	<hr/>		

## 27 EDWARD III

1352-1353. No Parliament was held this year; but an anomalous assembly of spiritual and lay peers, knights of the shire, and burgesses was called to Westminster on the 23rd September (1353). This body acted very much as a Parliament; but it was in fact an expanded merchant assembly summoned to sanction a change of mercantile policy.

The attitude of the Government with regard to Staples, fixed marts to which traders were compelled to resort for the sale or

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 372, 373; Scalacronica; Leland Coll. II. 564.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lump sum.

purchase of certain kinds of goods, had always fluctuated according to the political or economic views prevalent from time to time at Court, or the influences that might be brought to bear upon the King. For the administration, the concentration of traffic would facilitate the collection of dues; while local interests would be keenly alive to the importance of securing a monopoly of important business. Edward I had bought the town of Antwerp from the Duke of Brabant, and established there the foreign centre for the wool trade. But a foreign Staple had existed previously at Dordrecht.<sup>1</sup> Edward II established domestic Staples in sixteen of the principal towns at home, the foreign Staple being removed from Antwerp to Saint-Omer. The home Staples were all abolished in 1328, and again in 1334. In 1341, to secure the Flemish alliance, Edward III had set up a foreign Staple at Bruges; in 1347 it was transferred to Calais. Now the King had been persuaded to re-establish Staples of wool, leather, and lead at home, keeping on Calais as the foreign Staple. The Council gladly gave its assent, and the details of the new arrangement were settled between the peers and the commoners. Ten Staple towns were named for England, one for Wales, and four for Ireland; but the curious thing is that natives were prohibited under the severest penalties from exporting Staple goods, or being in the smallest degree interested, directly or indirectly, in the sale of them abroad, or even receiving payment abroad for what they had sold at home. On the other hand, every encouragement was offered to foreign merchants to visit England with their goods. The prior rules forced the English wool-grower to send his wool to Bruges, for the benefit of the Flemings: now the idea was to force the foreign buyer to come to England for his wool, the avowed object of the measure being to replenish the realm with gold, silver, and foreign merchandise. The regulations as subsequently confirmed by a regular Act of Parliament amount to a code of Staple law, and became the foundation on which all subsequent legislation on the subject was based.<sup>2</sup> The ordinances show that the merchants

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Jenckes, *Staple of England* (Philadelphia, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 431; *Genesis*, I. 379. For the principles of the "Mercantile System" and the "Balance of Trade" see A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV.



attending a Staple were treated as a community apart, living in quarters appointed to them, electing their own mayor and constables who governed and judged them, not according to Common Law, but according to Law Merchant, common-sense usages, dictated by the needs of trade, that had grown to have the force of laws. "The system of the Staple was, it would seem, a combination of the principle of the guild and of the Royal privilege of establishing fairs and markets."<sup>1</sup>

In consideration of the passing of these popular measures, the assembly took on itself to grant a continuance of the surtaxes on wool, leather, and lead for three years from Michaelmas.

But the assembly did not confine itself to mercantile affairs. It also passed an Ordinance subjecting all persons who should sue in foreign courts for matters cognizable in the King's Courts to the penalties of outlawry and forfeiture. The measure, when enrolled as an Act of Parliament, became known as the First Statute of Praemunire; of course entirely directed against the Papacy.

Revenue :					£	s.	d.
Pells	.	.	.	.	106,939	17	8½
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup>	.	.	.	.	2,321	0	0
					<hr/>		
					109,260	17	8½
					<hr/>		

## 28 EDWARD III

1353-1354. On the 24th April (1354) a full formal Parliament met at Westminster. The Ordinances of the Staple were laid before the Houses, and duly confirmed and enacted with some emendations. The Crown was forbidden to reappoint sheriffs after the expiration of their year of office—an effectual blow to the influence of these functionaries—and the King agreed that goods taken by way of Purveyance under 20s. in value should be paid for in ready money. The exportation of iron was forbidden, the price having risen 3*d.* to 12*d.* the stone since the Plague.<sup>3</sup> The Commons would have liked some further measures

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, sup.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lumped sum.

<sup>3</sup> For the perpetual fluctuations in the price of iron, owing to the shortness and uncertainty of the supply, see Rogers, Prices. For blast the furnaces

against the labourers who refused to take wages in corn ; who refused to engage by the half-year or the quarter ; and who took to renting small farms, as an excuse for not taking service by the half-year. The King, however, thought that existing legislation might suffice for a while.<sup>1</sup>

Of the general feeling with respect to the war this Parliament gave "unmistakable evidence". Bartholomew Burghersh, the Lord Chamberlain, explained the state of the negotiations with France, stating that there were good hopes of a final peace, but that the King would settle nothing without the assent of Lords and Commons. The Commons answered that whatever might be pleasing to the King and the Great Men would be acceptable to them. Pressing for a more explicit answer, the Chamberlain said :

*"Donques vous voillez assentir au Tretee de pees perpetuele si homme la puisse avoir ?"*

*Et les dites communes responderent entierement et uniement, 'Oil, Oil'."*<sup>2</sup>

The state of the peace negotiations was as follows. On the 6th April (1354) a truce for another year had been arranged. Edward had authorized his plenipotentiaries to treat for a final peace on the basis of his renouncing his pretensions to the Crown of France. The concessions expected in return were to include, it would seem, the absolute cession of Guienne, Ponthieu, and Normandy, with all recent conquests in Brittany or France, the whole in absolute dominion, terms that no King of France could have listened to for one moment. But the English did not at all realize the extravagance of their demands, and the national expectations had been wound up to the highest pitch. The new Pope, Innocent VI,<sup>3</sup> had shown himself quite as zealous in the cause of peace as his predecessors. Accordingly, it was agreed that the terms of the treaty should be finally settled at Avignon, with the Pope as arbiter, but 'extra judicially', and 'in a private capacity only'. The 1st October (1354) was the day fixed for the meeting of the conference. When the English

depended on the wind ; without the wind in a certain quarter the Sussex furnaces could not act.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 381, 382 ; Rot. Parlt. II. 254-262.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parlt. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Again a Frenchman, Étienne d'Albret, crowned 30 December 1352.

embassy reached Avignon on Christmas Eve, they found that the Duke of Bourbon, the French plenipotentiary, was not prepared to surrender the homage due for any particle of French soil; the French refused to dismember France, and the conference broke up in January (1355), an utter failure. To make the pacification complete, a parallel treaty had been prepared for the liberation of the King of Scots, in consideration of a ransom of 90,000 marks (£60,000) to be paid by nine annual instalments. This broke down also, and the unfortunate David remained in his bonds.<sup>1</sup>

With the triennial Fifteenths and Tenths of 1352 coming fully in, the revenue springs up. With the benefit of the extra 40s. on wool, and that of the cessation of warfare for three whole years, the Customs expand to the sum of £112,257 10s. 0½d., by far the highest of the reign.

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	170,820	1	6½
Wardrobe . . . . .	4,381	11	2
	<hr/>		
	175,201	12	8½
	<hr/>		

## 29 EDWARD III

1354-1355. With the breakdown of the negotiations at Avignon an early renewal of the war became inevitable, and again Edward had a useful ally holding out his hand to him from the camp of his adversary. For fifty years, since the marriage of Philip the Fair of France with Jeanne of Champagne, Queen of Navarre, the Crowns of France and Navarre had been closely linked. The latter kingdom was now in the hands of Charles II, surnamed the Bad. The Salique Law apart, he was heir to the Crown of France, and if only he had been born in or before January 1328, he would have completely cut the ground from under Edward's feet, as being the nearest male heir to the last King.<sup>2</sup> He is described as quick-witted, plausible, and intelligent, but utterly false, selfish, and unprincipled. King of Navarre, a Peer of France, with extensive possessions in Nor-

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 382, 383.

<sup>2</sup> See Genesis, I. 384.

mandy and the valley of the Seine, he was altogether a person enjoying considerable opportunities for giving trouble. John had given him an infant daughter in marriage, but father-in-law and son-in-law were on very bad terms ; and when the Avignon conferences broke down, Charles sent an agent to Edward to concert a landing at Cherbourg.

In England the call to arms was sounded in February (1355), and in April war with France was resolved upon. In September the Prince of Wales was sent off to begin his eventful career as King's Lieutenant of Gascony. The Articles settled with the King show his personal contingent as amounting to 433 men-at-arms, and 700 archers of whom 400 would be mounted and 300 footmen, 1,133 men in all.<sup>1</sup> But the Prince was to be accompanied by the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford, and Salisbury, with the Lords Lisle of Rougemont and Cobham of Scarborough. Their muster rolls are not forthcoming, but the shipping ordered for their transport considerably exceeds that bespoken for the Prince. If we give them 500 lances and 1,100 archers as against the 433 lances and 700 archers of the Prince, we shall have a total of 933 lances and 1,800 archers, in all 2,733. Knighton, the Canon of Leicester, is content with 800 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers, 2,200 men.<sup>2</sup> If the reader should hesitate to accept these figures, a few years hence he will find an English army of less than 3,000 men marching from Calais to the gates of Paris and from Paris to the banks of the Loire, without opposition.<sup>3</sup>

The King reserved himself for the expedition to Normandy suggested by the King of Navarre. We find him at Portsmouth in September, waiting for news from Charles the Bad. But the French barons had forced their King to come to terms with a man who could give the English army easy access, through Normandy, to the very gates of Paris.

Edward then announced that he would take an army to Calais. About the 26th October he landed there. His army had been swelled by northern levies under Percy and the Bishop of Durham, who, rashly trusting to an armistice concluded with the Douglas, had ventured to leave their proper sphere of

<sup>1</sup> See the Indenture, dated 10 July 1355 ; Beltz, Garter, 389.

<sup>2</sup> c. 2608.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 386, 387.

duty on the Border. Foreign mercenaries had also joined the King at Calais, making altogether a formidable army. On the 2nd November Edward marched out of Calais. King John was understood to be lying somewhere between Saint-Omer and Amiens; so Edward took the road to Saint-Omer, laying all waste before him. But John kept close under the walls of Amiens, and even wasted the country beforehand to check the English advance. Idle challenges of the usual sort were exchanged. Edward wheeled round and so brought a most fruitless ten days' campaign to an end. Bad news had come from home. The Scots, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Border, had recovered the town of Berwick, and were pressing the castle. Edward paid off his mercenaries and hastened home to open a session of Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

The Triennial Subsidies still coming in, the revenue keeps up.  
Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	178,056	14	10
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	502	0	0
	<hr/>		
	178,558	14	10
	<hr/>		

### 30 EDWARD III

1355-1356. On the 23rd November (1355) Parliament met at Westminster. The Issue Rolls of the preceding year show good cause for the summoning of a Parliament. The Receipt Rolls had shown the large return of £178,558 14s. 10d., but the expenditure had risen to the unprecedented (recorded) sum of £220,000. The proceedings were opened by Walter, Lord Manny, who asked for a Subsidy for the war against the Scots. A prolongation for six years of the extra duties on leather and wool was granted. The unfortunate rising of the Scots was due to the intrigues of the French, who had sent money to bribe the Regent, Robert Stewart, to break the truce. Here we must note the beginning of the disastrous French alliance, the curse of Scotland for centuries to come.

But the hand of the avenger came down swiftly and surely

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 388-389.

<sup>2</sup> Share of lumped sum.



on the Scots. Manny was sent to relieve the garrison of Berwick Castle. On the 13th January 1356 the townsmen opened their gates and begged for mercy.

The Scottish Regent endeavoured to open negotiations. But Edward was resolved to press his advantage. He had been endeavouring for some time to get rid of his puppet king, Edward Balliol, who hampered all his negotiations with the Scots. But Balliol clung to his shadowy crown, and kept aloof from the English Court. The advance of the King's army cut short his hesitation. On the 20th January he made over his kingdom, and all his property and rights, public and private, to the King of England, in consideration of a sum of 5,000 marks (£3,333 6s. 8d.) down, and a life pension of £2,000 a year (Roxburgh).<sup>1</sup>

Edward halted some days on the Border, to see if his new subjects would recognize his authority; he even granted a short truce, to enable them to consider their position; but, finding that they were merely taking advantage of the truce to remove their goods, he advanced to 'take seisin' by force. Marching in three columns, the English reduced to ashes every farm-house and village within twenty miles of the coast. At Haddington they were detained for ten days, the fleet on which they depended for provisions being kept at North Berwick by northerly gales—a visitation sent, as the Scots believed, at the special intercession of the Virgin Mary, whose shrine at Whitekirk<sup>2</sup> had been outraged. When Haddington was evacuated the whole town was given to the flames, including the church of the Friars Minors, known for its beautiful choir as the Lantern of Lothian.<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh was the King's turning-point; after two days' stay there he took the road to the Border, probably by Fala, Lauderdale, and Melrose. The inroad was one of the severest experienced in southern Scotland. For many a day the horrors of "*Le Brunt Candlemas*" marked an epoch in the national memory; and for it Scotland had to thank the French alliance.<sup>4</sup>

We must now go back to follow the doings of the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 389-391. Balliol was established in Yorkshire and died in 1363.

<sup>2</sup> "Albam-Ecclesiam apud Baroniam de Hamye"; "Quhyt Kirk".

<sup>3</sup> "Lucerna Laudoniae vocabatur"; Scotichr.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, I. 391-392.

Wales in Gascony. In January (1356) great news had been received in London. The Prince had ridden for seven weeks on French soil without finding an enemy to cross swords with him. Out of eight weeks of campaigning only eleven days had been given to rest; he had led an army that may be taken as, at most, 4,000 men strong<sup>1</sup> from Bordeaux to the shores of the Mediterranean and back, with the loss of only one combatant of knightly rank; he had burned the suburbs of Carcassonne and Narbonne, and altogether done an amount of destruction unprecedented in the war. In fact the districts raided corresponded to the greater part of three Departments<sup>2</sup> of modern France. So the Prince and his secretary John Wingfield could boast<sup>3</sup> (5 October—9 December 1355).

When campaigning meant plunder and free quarters, hands to do the work would seldom be wanting. All through the spring and summer of 1356 raids and devastation were pushed in all directions, and the English dominion kept expanding.

On the 8th August the Prince in person crossed the Dordogne at Bergerac, and started on a fresh raiding tour through the heart of France. His army must have been very much the same as that of the previous autumn; the reinforcements from home that we can trace were most moderate; a total of 4,000 men is the most that we can accept; with that force—whatever its strength may have been—Edward proposed to fight his way through France, to join hands with his father who was reported to be again preparing to invade Normandy. In fact Lancaster<sup>4</sup> and Robert Knolles were operating in Normandy against King John; but eventually retired into Brittany, where the ducal war still went on.<sup>5</sup>

The events of the autumn had given the Prince confidence; but they had also taught him the need of caution. The advance therefore was covered by active skirmishers, led by John Chandos and James of Audley; the stages were mapped out beforehand;

<sup>1</sup> Above we saw that the Prince had not 3,000 men. For the Gascon contingent we must now add 1,000 men, making 4,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> Gers, Haute-Garonne, and Aude.

<sup>3</sup> See the reports, Avesbury, 434, 442, addressed to the Treasurer, William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester; Genesis, I. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Henry III, son of Henry Wryneck, afterwards created Duke and known as 'the Good Duke'.

<sup>5</sup> Genesis, I. 401.

the night quarters were fortified, and the outposts carefully kept on the alert.

Marching by way of Saint-Benoît-du-Sault, Argenton, and Châteauroux, Edward stayed three days at Issoudun; his skirmishers overrunning the country up to the walls of Bourges (25-27 August 1356). Next day he crossed the Cher, the old reputed limit of Aquitaine. By this time he had wasted the most of Berry; the line of devastation having previously traversed Périgord, Angoumois, Limousin, and La Marche. Sometimes, but not always, the churches were spared, but nothing else was spared. Descending the Cher, the Prince on the 7th September halted opposite the city of Tours, while his men ran cruel riot in the Garden of Touraine.

All hope of co-operation from Normandy was now gone. With the Loire in flood, and all bridges carefully broken down, the situation was becoming critical. On the 11th September the Prince began his return march to Gascony. The French columns were pouring down upon him in earnest. King John crossed the Loire at Blois, and proceeded to push on by a line parallel to that of the English. The word now was that he meant to outmarch them, and get between them and Bordeaux, and, sure enough, as it turned out to a certain extent, so he did. At the end of a week's marching, on Sunday, 18th September, both armies found themselves outside Poitiers, within striking distance of each other, their lines of advance having converged at the last. The Prince took up his quarters at La Cabotrie, a castle three miles from Poitiers.<sup>1</sup>

In his advance he had been delayed by having to give audience to a Cardinal and bishops come to plead the cause of humanity and mercy. The Prince's answer was that he was not authorized to treat of peace, and that in his circumstances he could not afford to grant a truce. He was now again confronted by the mediating clergy. But John demanded, practically, surrender at discretion.

On Monday (19 September) at sunrise the untiring clergy were again astir. The Prince's situation was such that he felt bound to express a willingness to treat. But the French commanders were all for fighting; and the bishops' last word to the Prince was 'to do his best as fight he must'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 402-407.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 408.

Bound to move, Edward resolved to execute what he describes as a 'flank' movement; he would steal away through country broken and wooded, even at the present day, where their movements would be much concealed, and if the French were not prompt to follow, they might get away unmolested. 'About half prime' (half-past seven) the army was set in motion. The Earls of Warwick and Oxford commanded the van, Salisbury and Suffolk the rear, while the Prince had charge of the centre. We may take it that they were making for the great high road to Angoulême and Bordeaux, which they would strike at Montmorillon, via Nouaillé. After three or four miles of marching by cross-country roads that we cannot pretend to identify, they came to a farm-house known as Maupertuis, but now as La Cardinerie, standing at a fork in the road to Nouaillé and Montmorillon, where a branch road struck off, to the right, uphill, to the hamlets of Bernon and Les Bordes.

The French were reported to be in full pursuit. Rather than risk a retrograde action, Edward, seeing a most favourable position before him, resolved to take his stand there. Coming down from a little height to Maupertuis, he would see the branch road to Bernon, lined with a bank and tall prickly hedge,<sup>1</sup> running obliquely uphill. On one side it enclosed a big field or close, partly planted with vines. On the other side it looked down upon a swampy valley that the enemy would have to cross to attack the English, on the higher ground and established in the field, within its hedge and bank. Access to the close from the road was given by a gateway at the upper end of the enclosure, and still there to be seen.<sup>2</sup> The right of the army under Warwick would hold the low ground, with the baggage covered by the farm buildings; the Prince commanded the centre; Salisbury had the advantage of the highest ground, but, on the other hand, he had to face the gap of the gateway, said to be wide enough to admit four or five men abreast. In consequence we are told that his men-at-arms were posted a stone's throw in the rear. From this we may safely gather that the other divisions would be standing or kneeling behind the bank, with their lances laid on it, their spear-heads

<sup>1</sup> "Super foveam una haia alta et spineta"; *Eulogium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, I. 409, all the writers notice the gateway "lipzet".



peeping through the thorn bushes, and presenting veritable *chevaux de frise*. The archers would line the bank in the intervals between the battalions to which they were attached.

In point of numbers the English, of course, were very weak. The only fact that seems beyond dispute is that the disparity in strength was immense, and that the French were at least four if not five times as numerous as their opponents.

John had under him one of the finest armies that France had ever turned out. Princes of the Blood, dukes, and counts were gathered round the Oriflamme. Nor were auxiliaries wanting; Savoyards and German counts were there; also a small Scottish contingent under William Douglas, afterwards first Earl of Douglas.

At the French head-quarters the Prince's 'flank' movement was naturally regarded as a retreat, if not a flight, and the leading divisions were at once set in motion. The army was marshalled in four divisions, namely, three main bodies and a covering vanguard. Of the three main battalions the first was led by the King's eldest son, the Duke of Normandy; the second by the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans; and the third by the King himself. By Douglas's advice the King dismounted all his troops to fight on foot. To enable them better to fight under these novel conditions, they were ordered to cut down their cavalry lances to five feet. With their vast superiority in numbers the extension of the French wings would have enveloped the invaders as in a net. But as at Crécy, so now, they were too self-confident to take the measures necessary to ensure success.

The French Marshals in the van, acting in jealous rivalry of each other, instead of concentrating their efforts, singled out successive parts of the English line for individual assaults. Floundering through the marshy bottom, their horses were subjected to a galling fire from the archers. One Marshal was killed, another taken prisoner, and the whole attack disposed of with comparative ease. To join in the *mêlée* the Prince had leaped his charger over the hedge.

Thus all three divisions of the English had taken part, more or less, in this preliminary encounter. They were then reformed to await further action.

But the real battle began with the advance of the first French



regular battalion, a perfect phalanx, broad and deep ; but probably not more broad than deep. They closed with the Prince's division in the centre. A desperate hand-to-hand encounter for the command of the hedge ensued, but the English held their ground, and the Duke of Normandy fell back and retired. Again the English refrained from all pursuit.

But now the Duke of Orleans had brought his division into action ; inclining to the right, he singled out Salisbury on the height. No details of this part of the battle have been handed down ; but it is clear that he did come forward and was defeated, because we are told that in ' retiring ' he came into contact with the King's battalion in its advance, thereby creating some confusion.

But the worst of the struggle was yet to come. The King's huge battalion, a perfect army in itself, had not yet appeared. When it hove in sight, on the crest of the opposite down, making for the English centre, many a stout heart began to quail. The day had opened with a march and pitching of camp ; every man had been engaged, except a reserve of 400 men with the Prince's standard ; many were wounded ; even some of the leaders thought that all was lost, while the men showed a disposition to slink away to the right and left, to join the divisions not immediately threatened. The Captal de Buch had obtained leave to take 60 men-at-arms and 100 archers on a flanking expedition round Les Bordes ; his retirement being misinterpreted, added to the dismay. The Prince rose splendidly to the occasion. Cursing the faint-hearted, and telling them to put their trust in God, he resolved to abandon his defensive position, assume the offensive, and boldly grapple with the unwieldy phalanx while they were still struggling with the swamp. He saw that the French were bringing up their last reserves, and that if these could be disposed of there would be nothing more to be feared. The Prince judged rightly ; but to propose to attack a solid phalanx with a thin line of hand-to-hand fighters implied a wonderful confidence in the *moral* of his men. Ordering his banner to the front, he led the way with his little bodyguard, his only reserve. The waverers, carried away by the heroism of their chief, hastened to the rescue. Bugle and trumpet, bagpipe and kettledrum called in the weary stragglers, while the archers

replenished their quivers with shafts that had already done duty. With ringing cheers the English fell on from all sides. The struggle was long and desperate; every shout of '*St. George! Guienne!*' was answered by a '*Montjoie! Saint Denys!*' The archers falling in with the men-at-arms hacked and hewed with their knives and mallets as best they could. Even stones were used in default of other missiles. 'Of old, at the third or fourth draught of a bow, or at the most at the sixth, men might tell which side would win. But on that day an archer had drawn an hundred shafts ere either side had given way.'<sup>1</sup> The scale was finally turned by flanking attacks; one by the Captal who led a party round the high ground at Bernon to fall on the French right, and the other on the French left by Warwick, whose men had been less heavily engaged, having indulged in pursuit of the French cavalry. At last, however, the big battalion swayed and broke, "as a breach in a high wall, suddenly, at an instant," and all was over except slaughter and securing of prisoners. Meanwhile the unfortunate King John, amid the *débris* of his battalion, was in danger of being torn in pieces by a crowd of English and Gascon soldiers, battling furiously for the dazzling prize of a King's ransom. He remained in a very awkward predicament; endeavouring to pacify the rioters with promises of 'Ransom for all', till he was rescued by the Earl of Warwick.

Thus ended a battle far more arduous than that of Crécy. The daring attack on the King's big battalion is one of the finest things in military history; and a signal illustration of the advantages enjoyed by men who have nerve enough to face solid columns in open line—the great prerogative of the English soldier.<sup>2</sup>

The Prince claimed to have 1,975 prisoners in his hands, including King John and his youngest son Philip, also one archbishop, thirteen counts, five viscounts, and twenty-one barons.<sup>3</sup> For the numbers of the English, at the beginning of the campaign, struggling with uncertain data, we thought that perhaps the Prince might have mustered 4,000 men. Grey in

<sup>1</sup> Eulog. Hist. III. 224. The account is that of one who was present. A quiver should hold twenty-five arrows: J. E. Morris.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 414-416.

<sup>3</sup> See his letter to the Bishop of Worcester, Riley, Memorials, 286.

his Scalacronica declares that on the day of the battle Edward had but 1,900 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, 3,400 men all told. This may be taken as the view of military men in England at the time.<sup>1</sup>

On the day after the battle the Prince resumed his march. Embarrassed with prisoners and laden with spoil, the army advanced by easy stages. On the 2nd October they entered Bordeaux. Wild was the Saturnalia of rejoicings in which the disbanded soldiery indulged; nor was the jubilation in London less fervid when the news was received. 'Men were almost beside themselves with joy.' Not a foot even of nominal sovereignty had either of the Prince's raids added to the English dominion; but the possession of the French King's person was, no doubt, in itself a valuable political asset.<sup>2</sup>

For Subsidies during the financial year Convocations had been held and Biennial Tenths granted.<sup>3</sup> As usual at this period the returns are amazing: the first Tenths yielded £50,680 14s. 3d., and the second Tenths £48,111 1s. 1d.

Revenue:

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	130,140	1	9½
Wardrobe <sup>4</sup> . . . .	502	0	0
	<hr/>		
	130,642	1	9½
	<hr/>		

### 31 EDWARD III

1356-1357. Pacification was now the order of the day. On the 23rd March (1357) the Prince signed a truce at Bordeaux, to last over two years from Easter Day (9 April) 1357.

The truce settled, the Prince made ready to return to England with all his prisoners. On the 5th May he landed at Plymouth; on the 24th of the month he entered London. More than a thousand of the chief citizens met him on horseback at Southwark; all the civic Gilds appeared in their respective liveries. King John rode a tall white charger, superbly caparisoned; the

<sup>1</sup> John of Reading, 124 (ed. Tait), gives 1,900 lances and as many archers.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 418.

<sup>3</sup> Wake, 297, 298.

<sup>4</sup> Share of lump sum.

Prince attended him on a small black palfrey. Hours elapsed before the procession could make its way from London Bridge to Westminster Hall. The King received the Royal prisoner in state, rising from his throne, and embracing him as a cousin and a guest.<sup>1</sup>

Orders were sent to the Duke of Lancaster (the Good Duke) in Brittany to raise the siege of Rennes. But he held on till the citizens had to come to terms, and paid him 60,000 *écus* (£10,000). The English took formal possession, and then restored the place to Charles of Blois, the French claimant, who had been allowed to go home on terms. Meanwhile de Montfort, Edward's man, had been established by Lancaster. "Thus Brittany got back both her Dukes."<sup>2</sup>

Five-and-twenty years of warfare had convinced Edward that the Scots were not to be subdued by force. One of the very first things that he had done on his return from the Candlemas raid of 1356 was to make an offer of a treaty of 'perpetual amity' with Scotland. No English King could well discard the hope of incorporating the northern portion of the Island. He therefore made no offer of a formal peace, which would have involved a fresh recognition of Scottish independence; but he offered to conclude a truce for ten years, and to liberate David for a money ransom, as proposed in 1354. The Scottish Regent made no difficulty. On the 8th May a short truce was signed in London. On the 26th September the Scottish Estates authorized their envoys to bind them individually and collectively, *singuli in solidum*, for the payment of 100,000 marks sterling (£66,666 13s. 4d.). On the 3rd October the treaty was sealed on behalf of England, and two days later on behalf of Scotland. Ten years were allowed for the payment of the ransom; "twenty Scottish youths, of the first families in the kingdom, were delivered as hostages. In the event of failure in the payment of any instalment, the King of Scotland to return to his bonds." On these terms 'Sir David King of Scotland' regained his freedom after eleven years of captivity.<sup>3</sup> His faithful Queen returned with him.

From the 17th April to the 16th May a Parliament had sat at Westminster. With the enthusiasm kindled by the victory of Poitiers still at its height, a Fifteenth and Tenth were granted

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 419, 420.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 421; Tout.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 422, 423.

for one year, although the prolongation of the Subsidy on wool for six years had been granted in 1355 "on the understanding that no other tax should be imposed during the period". The Statute of Labourers and the Ordinances of the Staple were confirmed and amended; native merchants were allowed to export wool for a period of six months; the right of the next of kin to administer to the effects of persons dying intestate, previously vested in the Ordinary, was recognized; and the appellate jurisdiction of the Court of Exchequer Chamber formally recognized.<sup>1</sup>

The Fifteenth and Tenth yielded £36,500, a full average amount. The second half of the biennial clerical Tenths of the previous year would also come in; while the Customs contributed the grand sum of £96,661 11s.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	157,364	17	2½
Wardrobe <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	502	0	0
	<hr/>		
	157,866	17	2½
	<hr/>		

### 32 EDWARD III

1357-1358. The presence of the captive King of France was held to call for a series of princely jousts and tournaments to be held all in his honour. King John submitted to play his part in the show with quiet dignity, well knowing that the costs of the entertainment would fall to be defrayed by him.

But the more serious attention of the two sovereigns was given to the negotiations for the redemption of King John. Three Cardinals were in London attending to French interests. They soon found that Edward's terms would be pretty stiff, and that he would accept of nothing less than the Avignon conditions of 1354, with a heavy ransom to boot.<sup>3</sup>

But France was in a state of chaos, socially and politically. The peasants had their substance wrung from them to pay for the ransoms of their lords on the one hand, while on the other

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 422, 423; Stubbs.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 425-427.

<sup>3</sup> Share of lumped sum.



hand they were left victims to a novel evil, namely the exactions of the Companies of Adventure, or "Fellowships" as they were termed, disbanded soldiery, mostly English, but including Gascons, Bretons, and Spaniards, who, falling in under chosen leaders, roamed through the defenceless land, levying contributions, living at ease, and amassing money. John Griffith, a Welsh Captain, was master of the country between Paris and the Loire; Knolles and James Pipe, who had been left by the Duke of Lancaster in Brittany, preyed on Normandy under the banner of Navarre; Arnaud de Cervole, a Gascon, ironically called 'The Archdeacon' (*L'Archiprêtre*), ravaged Provence, and levied blackmail even on the Pope at Avignon.<sup>1</sup>

The political situation was not less gloomy. The Dauphin John, a sickly timid lad of nineteen, but possessed of a pertinacity and an acumen that gained for him the title of "*Le Sage*", had gone to Paris to hold Estates to obtain money to carry on the war. But he found himself faced by a formidable *bourgeois* opposition, led by Étienne Marcel, Provost of the Merchants, who demanded drastic, in fact impossible, measures of reform. Then Charles of Navarre came to the front again; made himself master of the valley of the Seine, and, joining hands with Marcel, forced the Dauphin to assume the style of Regent, in order to give validity to any acts they might be pleased to dictate.

But a new horror was about to burst upon the troubled scene, a peasant rising. Goaded to despair by the manifold exactions under which they groaned, the poor *Jacques*—as they were called in contempt—rose against the lords, destroying their castles and mansions. But the infuriated *noblesse* soon mustered their forces, the King of Navarre—the hope of the Parisian democracy—lending most efficient help. By the end of June the movement started in May was suppressed; but the Isle of France, for the time, had been reduced to a desert.<sup>2</sup>

With France in such a state of anarchy the conclusion of a treaty of peace seemed hopeless. The Pope recalled the Cardinals from England, sending them to mediate between the Dauphin and the King of Navarre; the reconciliation of the two appeared a necessary preliminary to the establishment of peace with England. King John was removed from the Savoy to

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 426-427.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 427-429.

Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire ; and Edward, determined to let the French see that he was not to be trifled with, ordered shipping to be got ready for a passage to France in the spring.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the year's revenue we again find the Customs contributing more than half, namely £95,193 12s. 10½d.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	166,450	1	5
Wardrobe . . . . .	4,010	0	9
	<hr/>		
	170,460	2	2
	<hr/>		

### 33 EDWARD III

1358-1359. Edward's firmness had its effect on King John. Perhaps the confinement of Somerton pinched him. On the 28th March (1359) he sealed a treaty in London. In the true spirit of a French King he evidently thought that no price could be too high for his subjects to pay for his personal comfort and liberation. The terms, we are told, included the absolute cession of Gascony and Guienne, in their widest acceptation, with Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy, in all about two-thirds of France. The French were in terrible straits, but they had not yet been brought so low as to lose their sense of national honour. Estates and Dauphin alike rejected the treaty with scorn.<sup>2</sup>

John was sent back to Somerton, and Edward resumed his preparations for war. Foreign mercenaries were invited to enlist at Calais. The wasted state of France made it necessary to provide stores of an unusual character, such as hand-mills for grinding corn, and portable ovens for baking. On the 12th August (1359) war was declared. But the expedition underwent the usual delays. Shipping was the great difficulty, a difficulty aggravated by the practice of wholesale impressment. The King's call for auxiliaries met with the promptest response, adventurers flocked to Calais. From Saxony to Friesland, every nationality was represented, with the Margrave of Misnia at their head. Provisions soon became scarce. As week by week the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 432.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 432-433.

King's coming was delayed, the distress and discontent of the turbulent gentry waxed greater. Edward became alarmed for the safety of Calais, and sent Lancaster with a body of troops 'to make his excuses'. The Duke found occupation for his dangerous friends by leading them into Artois and Picardy to 'ravage and to spoil'. But the open country was pretty bare already, and the unprovided army suffered accordingly.

On the 28th October Edward at last crossed from Sandwich to Calais. His four elder sons, namely Edward, Lionel, John, and Edmund, accompanied him; Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest, was left at home as nominal Regent. The magnates turned out in strength, with Warwick and Salisbury at their head.<sup>1</sup> As for the rank and file, the horse-archers called for only numbered 910; the footmen, including Welsh pioneers, 3,474. But the numbers called for were seldom realized. Allowing 1,200 men-at-arms, we should get a grand total of 4,000-5,000 men.

No special Subsidy was granted this year; but the Council obtained an extra Customs' duty of 6*d.* on the £1 of all exports and imports for shipping for convoy purposes. Thanks, however, to the grants of the last two years, the revenue appears one of the highest of the reign, the Customs also keeping above the average.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	173,899	10	0
Wardrobe . . . .	20,743	16	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>		
	194,643	6	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>		

### 34 EDWARD III

1359-1360. Within a week of his landing at Calais the King began his advance (2 November 1359). He had not gone far when he met Lancaster coming back with his hungry pack. Many of the unfortunate men had been obliged to sell their horses to buy bread. Edward, no longer in need of their services, told them to go to Calais, to refresh themselves for a day or two. At Calais they got their answer, and that was that

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 434.

their claims for damages and arrears could not be entertained ; but that if any cared to follow the King without pay, for a share of the plunder, they were welcome to come. Not many were found to avail themselves of this handsome offer. Edward was prepared to abandon his pretensions to the Crown of France ; but he aspired to be hallowed King of France at Reims, where he had a friend in the person of the Archbishop. To facilitate foraging, the army marched in three parallel columns. No opposition was offered to them. The only difficulties with which they had to contend were the weight of their baggage-train ; the devastated state of the country ; and continuous downpours of rain and snow, making their march one of unusual hardship. December was well advanced before the whole force was gathered round the walls of Reims. Unable to undertake any regular siege operations, the English established themselves in villages outside, blockading the place and scouring the country far and near, the Free Companies co-operating. After a month of devastating but fruitless warfare, Edward in January 1360 turned southwards into Burgundy and stormed Tonnerre. Philip de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy, fearing a further advance, bought a private truce for three years, at the enormous price of 200,000 *moutons d'or* (10 March). Edward then held straight for Paris down the valley of the Yonne. In the second week in April the army established itself in the suburbs of Issy, Vanves, and Vaugirard. The Dauphin was always willing to negotiate, but nothing would provoke him to action. In vain Lord Manny brought his lances up to the very barriers ; not a French knight was allowed to stir (Sunday, 12 April).

Baffled, but not defeated, Edward fell back on Chartres, expressing an intention of descending the basin of the Loire into Brittany, to return in summer for the siege of Paris.

But the French were beginning to feel that, at whatever cost, a respite must be bought. Edward, again, saw that his numbers were shrinking daily, and he was receiving bad news from home. The Scots had concluded a treaty with the Dauphin ; while a fleet raised by local efforts in Normandy and Picardy had burned Winchelsea, and thrown all England into a state of panic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 435-438.

On the 1st May the conference began at Brétigny, a hamlet about six miles from Chartres. The leading part on the English side was taken by Henry II, the "Good" Duke of Lancaster, the friend of peace. On the 7th May a truce to Michaelmas 1361 was sealed, and next day the Treaty of Brétigny was published. Edward renounced his pretensions to the Crown of France, and all claim of over-lordship over Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Brittany, and Flanders. On the other hand, he received, besides Guienne in its widest acceptation, Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis (*La Rochelle*), the Agenais, Périgord, Limousin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gaure, Angoumois, and Rouergue, all as previously held by the King of France. In the North, Ponthieu and the County of Guisnes were granted in like sovereignty, with all islands adjacent to the ceded territories, and all islands then held by the English, including the Channel Islands. King John's ransom was fixed at the prodigious sum of 3,000,000 crowns of gold at 3s. 4d. the crown (£500,000). But before he would be set free 600,000 crowns would have to be paid down, eighty-two hostages delivered, and *La Rochelle* surrendered (8 May). On the 10th May the treaty was sworn by the Dauphin on the altar of Notre-Dame; a thankful *Te Deum* was sung, and the city too began to recover something of its wonted life and gaiety.

Of this compact the only remark that need be made is that it was incapable of execution. The French could never acquiesce permanently in such a scheme. Edward had utterly overshot the mark.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty sealed, Edward and his dwindling forces started for the coast, all towns and markets being thrown open to them. On the 18th May the King landed at Rye.

King John heard of the conclusion of the treaty with undisguised satisfaction. All that he asked for was to be set at liberty. On the 8th July, after a suitable interchange of Royal courtesies and hollow pledges of good faith and amity, with a formal leave-taking of the Court at Eltham, John was taken from Dover to Calais. For three years and two months he had been detained in England. But before he could fairly be set at liberty, much had to be done, hostages had to be collected, and the first instalment of the ransom paid. At the last Edward had

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 438, 439; and the map there.



to be content with 400,000 *écus*. With respect to the hostages, John overcame the reluctance of the French magnates by tendering his brother the Duke of Orleans and his two sons Louis and John. Philip, the brave boy of Poitiers, he was allowed to keep with him. On the 9th October Edward went over again to Calais, the Dauphin being established at St. Omer. Fifteen days were spent in engrossing the endless parchments. On the 24th of October the treaty of Brétigny was finally ratified by the two Kings in person, with one most important modification, namely, that instead of the simultaneous renunciation by Edward of the Crown of France, and by John of the overlordship of the ceded territories, the Kings should simply pledge themselves to execute such renunciations, 'as soon as possible, and at latest before the 30th November year, at Bruges'. As neither party was to move till the other party moved, matters were likely to hang fire indefinitely. To us it seems that the renunciation of the Crown was the one thing that the French should have striven for. So long as the question of the Crown was open, the breach remained incurable, and 'good peace' impossible. If Edward III had finally renounced the Crown, Henry V would never have had the seeming excuse that he had for reopening the war in 1414. The Calais clauses cost France the second half of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>1</sup>

Everything having been settled and sealed, the two Kings knelt down before the high altar of Saint Nicholas, Calais, and took the oaths. Next morning (25 October) John was allowed to leave Calais a free man. Edward escorted him about a league on the way to Boulogne; the Prince of Wales went all the way, remaining over the night at Boulogne. Early in November Edward recrossed the Channel.<sup>2</sup>

In February (1360), under alarm of an invasion, Tenths had been granted by both Convocations.<sup>3</sup> The grants, however, were not fully raised, the alarm having passed away, and no returns are forthcoming. A little later a Fifteenth and Tenth were obtained from local Parliaments; but the collection was suspended with the conclusion of peace. With John's ransom to the fore the Government could hardly press for money. John's *écus*, however, would not swell the Pell Receipts. They would

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 438-442.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Foedera; Wake, 300.

be stowed away in some treasury, probably at the Tower. For the revenue the Pells sink very low, and the Wardrobe Accounts are wanting.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	74,549	15	2½
Wardrobe, wanting.			

### 35 EDWARD III

1360-1361. On the 24th January 1361 a full Parliament met at Westminster. By the legislation of this session the time-honoured institution of Conservators of the Peace, representing the old English Ordinances of Hue and Cry, was raised to its final position of dignity and importance: to mark their new position, Conservators of the Peace received the honorific title of Justices of the Peace.

The struggle with the refractory labourers continued, fresh measures being found necessary.

The rejoicings over the victory of Crécy had been followed at no great interval by the first and worst outbreak of the Plague. By a curious coincidence a second visitation of the same calamity followed hard on the execution of the treaty of Brétigny. The pestilence broke out in the wasted districts of Picardy and Flanders in the autumn of 1360; in the following spring it spread northwards and southwards with all the well-known symptoms. On the 10th May 1361 the law courts were closed, and were not reopened till Michaelmas. Travelling north, by February 1362 the Plague was raging in Scotland, and continued to rage there till Christmas. As on the former occasion, so now, the pestilence was followed by a grievous murrain among cattle. On the country in general the effect of the second Plague was to neutralize all recovery of population effected since 1348, and to accentuate the rise in wages inaugurated at that period. In spite of King and Parliament the rates of wages kept steadily rising.<sup>1</sup>

Chief of those who succumbed to the epidemic was Henry II of Lancaster, the Good Duke. The enduring popularity of his

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 443-445; Rogers, Prices, I. 320; II. 316; e.g. for threshing the decennial average rises from 3½ to 4½.

name stood his future son-in-law, John of Gaunt, in good stead ; and undoubtedly helped to raise his grandson to the throne. In 1362 the King's third surviving son, John of Gaunt, by marriage with Blanche of Lancaster, the Duke's sole surviving issue, was installed in the vast inheritance.

In the Court circle the great event of the year was the marriage of the Prince of Wales to his cousin Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, a beauty and an heiress, being daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, the youngest son of Edward I. But her reputation was not unblemished. Apparently she had been twice married and once divorced. The Papal dispensation for the marriage was not obtained without difficulty. With the country the match was very unpopular.<sup>1</sup>

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	172,931	0	11
Wardrobe . . . . .	7,493	7	0½
	<hr/>		
	180,424	7	11½
	<hr/>		

### 36 EDWARD III

1361-1362. The 30th November (1361) had been named for the final ratifications and surrenders under the Great Treaty. But when the day came much yet remained to be done. Edward had dropped the style of King of France, but not the quartering of the Lilies. He had surrendered the castles held in France in his own name, but had not succeeded in recalling the Free Lances who were preying on the land. The French Government, on the other hand, had apparently done their best. In October John had sealed orders for the surrender of Guisnes and Ponthieu ; but the people submitted slowly and reluctantly. On the 12th April 1361 Edward was complaining that Ponthieu had not yet been delivered. On the 27th July John sealed documents making full transfer of the Southern Provinces, saving the sovereignty and the "*dernier ressort*" 'till due renunciation of the Crown of France made by Edward'. This was in strict

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 446, and note.

accordance with the Calais clauses, by which the renunciations were to be tendered at Bruges simultaneously. After some shuffling and delay, on the 22nd September the keys of Poitiers were delivered to Chandos; the attornment of the other towns of Poitou, with that of Limousin, Angoumois, Saintonge, and Périgord, followed shortly. But the great feudatories protested not less energetically against the transfer of their homages than the lesser folk.<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th November Edward had named commissioners to receive the renunciations of the King of France, authorizing them 'if necessary, and if the French agents should require it', to tender on his behalf all 'reasonable' letters of acquittance.<sup>2</sup> Thus it would seem that the statement of the French writers that when the envoys met at Bruges the French were ready with due letters of renunciation, but that the English were not, was perfectly correct. A few days later (13 January 1362) the Pope (Innocent VI) wrote to Edward, complaining of sudden difficulties which had arisen, and begging him earnestly to remove all doubts as to the honesty of his intentions.<sup>3</sup> Edward complained of the reservation of "*le dernier ressort*", and declared that he would tender a full renunciation when that clause was struck out.<sup>4</sup> But as the reservation was so worded as only to hold good until the English renunciation should be made,<sup>5</sup> if Edward had only tendered a transfer couched in the same terms as that of John, it would seem that the renunciations on both sides would have been complete.<sup>6</sup> Edward, apparently, when he accepted the original treaty at Brétigny, had made up his mind to renounce the Crown of France in return for large territorial cessions. The unfortunate modifications, as we consider them, introduced at Calais, gave him time to think over the matter again, and now, having got possession of the lands, he drew back.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 447, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Foed. III. 629: "*De faire a nostre dit frere de France suffisantes lettres de quitance et de absolucion sur la recepcion des lettres devantdites, et tantes et teles qui li devront suffire par raison.*" Genesis, I. 447, 448.

<sup>3</sup> Innocent VI was crowned 30th December 1352, in succession to Clement VI.

<sup>4</sup> See Foed. III. 681.

<sup>5</sup> "*Jusques les renonciacions soient faites.*"

<sup>6</sup> Compare three papers by MM. Sécousse, Salier, and Bonamy in the Académie des Inscriptions, vol. XV.

But the transfer of the ceded districts did not better the position of the rest of France. The "Fellowships" had yet to be got rid of. Well disciplined and mobile, these locust bands could shift their quarters at a moment's notice, and pounce down on districts previously supposed to be safe. Brittany was still held debatable land. Edward, as the self-constituted guardian of young John of Montfort, could still farm out castles there. Robert Knolles had three castles of him, for which he paid a rent of 1,000 marks a year.<sup>1</sup> But we note with some satisfaction that the English were said to treat the peasantry with more consideration than their own native lords did.<sup>2</sup>

To rule the ceded districts, thirty Seneschals had been appointed by Edward. But a Dominion of such extent could not safely be left in the hands of mere subjects. Perhaps Edward also thought that the attractions of a Provincial Court might modify the hostility of his new subjects. On the 19th July (1362) the Prince of Wales was invested with the Duchy of Aquitaine; all regalian rights over the old and new Provinces were conferred upon him to their fullest extent, saving only the feudal superiority of the King of England.

In contemplation of the establishment of the Prince as ruling Duke of Aquitaine, Edward had thought fit to revive the old ties with Spain. On the 22nd June a treaty of defensive alliance was arranged with Peter the Cruel and his son Alfonso; the two Crowns became bound to support each other 'as against all men who could live or die' excepting the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France.<sup>3</sup>

The Customs sink to £43,421 16s. 8½d.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	153,677	2	5½
Wardrobe . . . . .	7,314	1	6½
	160,991	4	0

<sup>1</sup> Foed. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 447-449.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 450, 451.



## 37 EDWARD III

1362-1363. On the 13th October a Parliament met at Westminster. The proceedings were opened in the Painted Chamber by Henry Green, Chief Justice of England, who addressed the assembly in English,<sup>1</sup> a memorable incident, foreshadowing an enactment of the same session. The King wanted a continuance of the Subsidy on wool, and spoke of sending the wool Staple back again to Calais. This latter measure was suggested by way of enhancing prices, which were said to be low. The Commons declined to sanction the transfer of the wool Staple. But they granted a Subsidy, a reduced Subsidy or surtax, for three years, namely 20s. on the sack of wool and 300 wool fells, and 40s. on the last of leather. But, as during the most, if not the whole of the reign, the King had been drawing these surtaxes at 40s. and 80s. respectively, the so-called "grant" was in fact a cutting down of the existing revenue for three years. Then, as if to ensure the permanence of the reduction, the King was made to give an explicit assent to a declaration that for the future no Subsidy should be set on wool without the assent of Parliament. Within four months Edward found an excuse for breaking his word, as the very next Parliament had to complain.<sup>2</sup>

Several other measures of interest were included in the statute passed by this Parliament. Another blow was struck at the custom of Purveyance; the right was to be exercised only on behalf of the Households of the King or Queen; even the heinous name of 'Purveyor' was changed for that of 'Buyer'. Buyers were required to produce commissions under the Great Seal, renewable half-yearly, and all payments were to be made 'by ready money, in hand'. Lastly, a praiseworthy effort was made to restore to the people the use of the native language in the law Courts. The reasons alleged for this wholesome reform were that French was then 'too little known in the realm'; and that 'people who pleaded or were impleaded in the courts knew not what was said for or against them by their Serjeants or pleaders'. They also pointed to the state of things in the King's foreign possessions where the laws were expounded in the mother tongue of the country. But "use and wont" proved stronger than

<sup>1</sup> "*En Anglois*".

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 451.

statute law, and French maintained its position as the language of the Courts for some centuries; while for writs and records Latin was retained.

In spite of the opposition of the Commons, the King held to his purpose of transferring the Staple to Calais. It was established there on the 1st March 1363. To regulate the course of trade there, a close corporation of twenty-six named men was embodied, with a common seal, and jurisdiction without appeal, over all manner of debts, suits, crimes, or trespasses, a franchise verging on a palatinate. They were further authorized to levy a surtax of 40*d.* on the sack of wool by way of market dues. For these privileges they were to pay the King a "ferm" of 500 marks (£333 6*s.* 8*d.*) a year. Practically all articles of English growth or manufacture intended for export were required to be taken to Calais, except lead and tin, with a further exception in favour of the Gascons and Germans who were allowed to ship cloth and herrings direct from English ports. The considerations that weighed with the King for establishing the Staple out of England were mainly political, the aim being to attach Calais to England by commercial ties. But the imposition of the illegal 40*d.* created great dissatisfaction; and the extortion of the Merchants of the Staple, as they were called, soon made the Calais market a scene of strife and confusion. Within less than two years the monopoly had to be suppressed, and the system established in 1353 revived, Calais being retained as the foreign Staple, with ten Staple towns for England, one for Wales, and three for Ireland. At Calais, with occasional intermissions, a Staple remained till the year of grace 1558.<sup>1</sup>

No Subsidy had been granted since 1360, and the revenue falls accordingly; while the Customs, with the reduction of the surtaxes on wool and leather, sink to £43,421 16*s.* 8½*d.*

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	59,995	0	4½
Wardrobe . . . . .	7,612	4	5½
	67,607	4	10

Genesis, I. 453-454. See Staple of England, A. Jenckes (Philadelphia, 1908), and generally Anderson, *Origins of Commerce*.

## 38 EDWARD III

1363-1364. From the 6th October to the 9th October a Parliament again met at Westminster. An ineffectual protest was made against the illegal 40*d.* imposed at Calais, and the legislature had to content itself with efforts to keep down the prices of commodities, enhanced by war, pestilence, gales, and floods. Trade regulations and sumptuary edicts were passed: merchants were restricted to dealings in one sort of merchandise; craftsmen to the exercise of one craft; and the competition of women was expressly encouraged. In the matter of dress, knights, esquires, clergymen, merchants, craftsmen, and labourers, each in their several rank and station, had suitable apparel prescribed for them. The possession of £200 a year in land or rent gave the right to rank as a knight, £100 a year the right to rank as an esquire. A merchant worth £1,000 was on a level with the landowner of £200 a year. Men not worth 40*s.* would rank as labourers. These were forbidden to wear anything but "blanket" or "russet", at 12*d.* the yard, with linen to correspond. Suitable attire is prescribed for the different classes up to £1,000 a year. Above that, persons might dress as they pleased.<sup>1</sup>

With the period that we have reached a time of more friendly intercourse with Scotland has to be recorded. King David himself received invitations to visit England most years. The presence of Scottish envoys in London had always been a matter of common occurrence; but now we also find a readiness to encourage private intercourse. Scottish merchants; Scottish students; pilgrims to Canterbury; pilgrims to Walsingham; Crusaders bound for Prussia; all persons accredited by the Scottish government are free and welcome.<sup>2</sup> Edward was making a fresh push for union with Scotland; and David was quite willing to play into his hands. He was childless; he hated the Stewarts, the heirs to the Crown; and the payment of the

<sup>1</sup> See Rot. Parl. II. 275-282; Statutes, I. 378. For strictures on the extravagance and effeminacy of current fashions see Eulog. Hist. III. 230; cloaks either very loose and short, or down to the heels, with long sleeves (gowns); silken "paltoks", like cassocks; long pointed shoes, "crakows"; also derided in France as "poulaines"; De Nangis, III. Cont. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 454, 455.

ransom pinched him. Only two instalments of 10,000 marks had been paid, and he might be summoned to return into captivity at any moment. On the 27th November a secret conference was held at Westminster in the presence of the two Kings; and a Minute was drawn up recording a proposal for the union of the two Crowns at the death of David, if he should die without issue. The suggestion was that the Scottish Estates (*Communaltes*) should agree to take the then King of England—whoever he might be—as their King. Edward made most liberal offers; Scotland would be allowed to retain her own Parliament, her own laws and taxation, her own administration; every guarantee was offered and every inducement held out. Sensible, however, that the chances of the acceptance of such a scheme were small, the English negotiators put forward a secondary plan, of a more covert character, by which the Scots would be asked to elect as heir to their Crown the eldest of the King's sons who should not be 'heir apparent' to the crown of England. Early in 1364 David returned to Scotland; held a Parliament at Scone on the 4th March; and propounded his scheme. The three Estates answered with one voice that the King's proposals could not be entertained for one moment.

But for all that they were not insensible to the benefits of peace with England, and they were prepared to show their appreciation of it by paying liberally for it. They offered to forfeit the 20,000 marks already paid on account of David's ransom, and to execute a fresh treaty by which they would purchase a truce for five-and-twenty years for the sum of £100,000. The offer was practically accepted, payment to be made by annual instalments of £4,000; but the truce in the first instance was only signed for four years, to run from the 2nd February 1366, the existing truce, signed in October 1357, being carried on to that date.<sup>1</sup>

Three years and three months had not yet run from the time when King John had recovered his long-wished-for liberty, when he resolved to place himself once more in Edward's hands. Opinion as to the motives of a man so shallow and light-hearted as *Jean le Bon* was naturally much divided. He had taken on himself the payment of the balance of the Burgundy ransom, left owing at the death of Duke Philip of Rouvre (21 November

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 455-457.



1361);<sup>1</sup> but his own ransom was in hopeless arrear. Little more than the first instalment had been paid. Another point touched John's knightly sense of honour. The Duke of Anjou, John's second son, one of the hostages, had broken his parole. Those who took the least favourable view of the King's character declared that he was hankering after the fleshpots of Egypt, the squalor and misery of France being intolerable after the gay luxury of the English Court. He appointed the Dauphin Charles as Regent, and on the 4th January 1364 landed at Dover. Again he had a magnificent reception from Edward, and was established in the Savoy. On the 8th April he passed away. The remains were transported in state to France, and finally buried at Saint-Denis on the 7th May.<sup>2</sup>

The death of King John sounded the knell of the treaty of Brétigny. Ere the breath had left his body, his son, the Dauphin-Regent, had commissioned Bertrand du Guesclin to attack the Norman strongholds of the King of Navarre. He promptly recovered Mantes and Meulan. This success was achieved by a stratagem that might be designated as treachery, but the free navigation of the Seine was secured. Within a week the Captal de Buch landed at Cherbourg with reinforcements from Navarre. On the 16th May the two forces met in pitched battle on the plain of Cocherel, when Du Guesclin scored the most important success gained by the French since the beginning of the war. The Captal was taken prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

In the continuing struggle between the competitors for Ducal Brittany, as the French sent succour to one side, the English were at liberty to support the other side. Accordingly John Chandos was sent to the rescue with a powerful following which included Robert Knolles, Hugh Calverley, and Walter Hewit. On Michaelmas Day (29 September) the two armies joined battle outside Auray. The star of England was once more in the ascendant; the French party were completely beaten; Charles of Blois was slain and Du Guesclin taken prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> Philip having left neither child nor any near relative, King John laid claim to the duchy, and gave it to his son Philip the Bold, ignoring the claims of the King of Navarre, a fresh ground of war with Charles; Lavissee, IV. 167. Only 10,000 crowns of the Burgundy debt still remained due, and that was paid up in March 1364; Foed. III. 727.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 458, 459.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 460, 461.



Accepting the verdict of the day of Auray, Charles V agreed to recognize de Montfort, Edward's man, as Duke; a treaty was sealed by which he was admitted as "*Jean V Le Conquérant*", and the civil war that had wasted Brittany for five-and-twenty years was brought to a close.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time Charles the Bad, hemmed in between the Kings of Aragon and Castile, found it desirable to seek for peace with France. A treaty was sealed in Paris, by which Navarre abandoned the lost lordships of Mantes, Meulan, and Longueville, receiving in exchange the far-off border town of Montpellier.<sup>2</sup>

The Navarrese and Breton difficulties were thus disposed of. But the supreme evil of the Companies remained. Charles V had again shown his contempt for the treaty of Brétigny by appointing the Duke of Anjou Lieutenant-General of Languedoc. Edward insisted on the return of the forsworn Duke into captivity. To clear his right to make this demand, he had at last issued tardy orders to all his subjects, requiring them to leave the dominions of the King of France.<sup>3</sup>

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	133,826	7	9
Wardrobe . . . .	5,709	10	0
	<hr/>		
	139,535	17	9
	<hr/>		

### 39 EDWARD III

1364-1365. On the 30th January 1365 a Parliament met at Westminster. On the morrow the proceedings were opened in the Painted Chamber by the Chancellor, Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely, who addressed the Estates in French, the proceedings, however, being entered in English. He informed the assembly that the King desired to call their attention to the continued exercise of jurisdiction by the Papal Court over English subjects; and the continued invasion by the Papacy of English

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of Guérande, 12th April 1365; Genesis, I. 457-462.

<sup>2</sup> 6th March 1365; Genesis, I. 460-463.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

rights of patronage. The King's views were afterwards more fully expounded, first to the Peers, and then to the Commons in the White Chamber; the result was a Statute expressly confirming the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire* of the 25th and 27th years. Any persons procuring or purchasing from the Court of Rome any personal citation against the King or any of his subjects, or purchasing or procuring any preferment in derogation of the rights of any lay or spiritual patron, was declared 'out of the King's protection'. The prelates gave their assent, 'saving the rights of their Order', a reservation already expressed in the body of the Act. At the request of the Commons the monopoly of the Calais Staple was suspended, as already mentioned, and the Staple arrangements of the year 1353 were restored with some modifications. The sumptuary and mercantile regulations of 1363 were also repealed; the public being left free to deal in such goods, and wear such clothes and ornaments, as they should think fit. In return the Subsidies on wool and leather were renewed for three years at the old rates, namely 40s. on the sack of wool, and 80s. on the last of leather.<sup>1</sup>

The year (1364-1365) again passed without any Parliamentary grant, and the recorded revenue sinks to £83,778 14s. 1d. But this return cannot be accepted, because the Customs alone yielded the enormous sum of £104,202 19s. 4½d. Clearly the bulk of this money must have been drawn out by 'assignments', the Customs being the branch of the Revenue most operated on in that way.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	78,069	4	1
Wardrobe . . . . .	5,709	10	0
	<hr/>		
	83,778	14	1
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> See 38 Edw. III. st. 2, cc. 2, 6, 7; Statutes, I. 383; Rot. Parl. II. 285, &c.; English merchants were again forbidden to export wool, but not under penalty of death, as in 1353, "a fact almost impossible to believe were it not beyond doubt"; Longman, II. 84; Genesis, I. 464.

## 40 EDWARD III

1365-1366. The Commons were not lacking in common sense, if only they had had greater power of giving effect to their views. On the 12th May 1366 Parliament again met at Westminster. Resistance to Rome was again the order of the day. Urban V<sup>1</sup> had taken alarm at the Statute of the previous year, which he regarded as "a declaration of war". By way of retaliation he had issued a formal demand for the arrears of the Papal rent, threatening to take proceedings in his own courts. Edward laid the matter before the Peers, who took a day to deliberate. On the morrow the Lords Spiritual and Temporal answered that neither John nor any other person could place the realm under such subjection without their assent. The Commons concurred, and a formal declaration was drawn up to the effect that John's act was against the tenor of his coronation oath, and that if the Pope attempted to enforce his claim by process of law, or otherwise, the Lay Estates would join in resisting him to the utmost. "This solemn declaration set the question at rest for ever." "Even Peter's pence, the old Romescot, which dated from the days of Offa and Ethelwulf, was withheld for a time."<sup>2</sup>

By a significant coincidence the Parliament that rejected the Papal rent-charge introduces JOHN WYCLIFFE on the stage of English history, and in connexion with this very matter. Ex-Master of Balliol Hall, Warden of the recently founded Canterbury Hall at Oxford, and apparently a Royal Chaplain, Wycliffe doubtless attended the Parliament in connexion with a quarrel between the University and the Mendicant Orders that had been brought before the King in Parliament.<sup>3</sup> A nameless monk having subsequently questioned the right of Parliament to reject the Papal claim, and having specially challenged Wycliffe to justify the action of Parliament, Wycliffe took up the gauntlet, and very subtly and ingeniously published his defence of the national rights in the shape of a pretended report of speeches that he alleged to have heard delivered by seven lay Lords in Parliament. The argument boldly traverses the temporal

<sup>1</sup> Crowned 6th December 1362 in succession to Innocent VI, both Frenchmen.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 435 ; Barnes, 670 ; Genesis, I. 464-465.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl. II. 290.

authority of the Pope, and, virtually, his infallibility in matters spiritual. At the same time, it does not appear that in his theological teaching Wycliffe had, as yet, passed the limits of the strict orthodoxy of the day.<sup>1</sup>

But in Aquitaine the Prince of Wales, with the approval of his Royal father, was preparing to embark on a most uncalled-for enterprise of war.

In 1353 Pedro the Cruel of Castile married Blanche of Bourbon, sister of Jeanne the wife of Charles V of France. Two days after the marriage Pedro discarded his wife for the more congenial society of Maria de Padilla, and, Blanche having passed away, he proclaimed Maria's son Alfonso his heir. This was the Alfonso recognized by Edward in the treaty of 1362. In 1365, after the settlement of the affairs of Brittany and Navarre, a plan was arranged in Paris for getting rid of the Companies by sending them into Castile, to avenge the family insult, and harass the ally of the King of England—a triple stroke of policy. Du Guesclin was named as leader of the expedition. The adventurers flocked like vultures to his standard, Hugh Calverley, Walter Hewit, and Matthew Gurney among them. On the 1st January 1366 the invaders reached Barcelona. There they were joined by Pedro's natural brother, the spirited Don Enrique, Count of Trastamare. Aragon opening the way, they entered Castile. On Easter Day (5 April) the Count of Trastamare was crowned King of Castile at Las Huelgas, near Burgos, under the style of Henry II. This remarkable revolution was the sole work of the Castilian people; the foreigners gave them no help "beyond the mere fact of their presence". Rejected by his subjects, and driven from one province of the Peninsula to another, Pedro, finally sailing from Corunna with his three daughters, Beatrice, Costanza, and Isabel, at last found a refuge and a welcome at Bayonne. Not content with that, he went the length of pressing the Prince for active support and reinstatement. King Edward's best advisers, and the Gascon gentry to a man, protested as openly as they dared against the wild scheme. But the Prince would not listen to reason. The matter was referred to London, and the Prince's purpose approved of both by his father and by his ambitious brother John of Gaunt,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 464-466.

now Duke of Lancaster in right of his wife, who proposed to join him. Writs were issued ordering men for active service in Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup>

The Customs again sink suddenly to £48,607 11s. 1½d.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	126,228	6	11
Wardrobe . . . . .	10,688	17	6½
	136,917	4	5½

#### 41 EDWARD III

1366-1367. The first point pressed upon the Prince in connexion with his Spanish expedition was the necessity of securing the King of Navarre, who held the keys of the Pyrenean "ports". The matter was settled without difficulty. Pedro, having lost all, was ready to promise anything. Castilian provinces and Castilian towns were freely offered to Charles the Bad with 180,000 florins (£60,000); besides the wages of 2,000 men for two months. But as the King of Spain had no money, the zealous Prince agreed to find 20,000 florins at once, besides the wages of the 2,000 men for one month. For himself the Prince received the promise of Biscay, with 550,000 florins for the maintenance of himself and his following for six months.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke of Lancaster was placed in command of the reinforcements for his brother, on condition of paying his own expenses. Sailing about the end of the year, he landed in Brittany, and from thence made his way by land, finally reaching Bordeaux on the 13th January 1367. His force is given as 400 men-at-arms and as many archers.

The Prince's ranks were quickly filled. In fact he soon found that he had more men than he wanted. Unfortunately the contingent singled out for reduction was that of the Sire d'Albret, who in very spirited manner had undertaken to raise 1,000 lances at his own cost. A serious jar between the English and the Gascon parties was the result.

<sup>1</sup> July-August 1366; Genesis, I. 467-470.

<sup>2</sup> Libourne, 23rd September; Foedera; Genesis, I. 470.



With regard to the strength of his army, the force agreed upon between the Prince, Pedro, and Charles of Navarre as sufficient for the purpose in hand, was just 2,000 lances, half mounted and half on foot. In our opinion 2,000 Free Lances, well led, would be an army in itself. But Lancaster's 800 men must of course be added, with, presumably, some further contingent of footmen, making, say, 3,000 or 3,500 men in all. The leading Castilian authority (Ayala), who was present, only claims for his side 4,500 really effective men, for cavalry and infantry combined.

On the 15th January (1367), a strange time for starting, the Prince's army began its march through the romantic gorges of Roncesvalles. The cold was intense, and the army suffered cruelly from wind and snow and hail. By the end of the week, however, the whole army found itself in the valley of Pampeluna. From Pampeluna two diverging roads would lead to Burgos, the old Castilian capital; one by Estella to Logroño, on the Ebro, where Enrique was posted; the other through rugged hills and upland valleys by way of Salvatierra and Vittoria to the crossing of the upper Ebro at Miranda. The Prince took the latter route and reached Vittoria in safety. Enrique then broke up from San Domingo facing Logroño, crossed the Ebro, and established himself in a strong position to the south of Vittoria, blocking the way to Burgos. But the English soon found themselves in straits for want of provisions. To get into better quarters, and if possible bring the enemy to action, the Prince by a flank march over snow-clad sierras came down upon Viana, crossed the Ebro by the bridge at Logroño, and established himself comfortably at Navarette among orchards and vineyards. Don Enrique immediately executed a corresponding movement; leaving the heights of Añastro and Zaldieran, he crossed the Ebro at San Vincente, and again threw himself across the line of the Prince's advance on Burgos, establishing himself at Najera, about six miles from Navarette, with the river Najarilla, an affluent of the Ebro, between him and the English, both being established on the south side of the Ebro.

Enrique's best advisers had urged him in the strongest manner not to risk an engagement with the Prince's troops, the flower of the chivalry of Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " *La flor de la caballeria de la cristiandad del mundo* "; Ayala.

Stung by an insulting challenge cunningly addressed to him by the Prince, Enrique, to the dismay of his followers, insisted upon taking his army across the Najarilla, to engage the Prince 'on a fair field without advantage'. To meet the English dismounted men-at-arms he placed his French auxiliaries, by far the best of his troops, to fight in the van on foot. Du Guesclin and the Marshal d'Audrehem had the command of this force, 'which might number 1,000 men-at-arms'. To the right and left of this force, but somewhat in the rear, were drawn up wings of cavalry, some fully armed, but a large proportion evidently lightly armed, "*geneteurs*", *anglice* hobelers, men mounted on little genets or palfreys. Each wing again is given by the Spanish writer as about 1,000 men strong. Farther back again, in the direct rear of the dismounted men-at-arms, came Enrique, with some 1,500 horse and a large but undefined multitude of footmen from the hill country, Guipuzcoa, Biscay, and the Asturias. These dispositions were altogether different from those to which the English were accustomed. The Prince, therefore, had to shape his array accordingly. Lancaster and Chandos led the van, being all dismounted men-at-arms, with John of Gaunt's personal contingent. The Gascon *noblesse* supplied cavalry for the two wings to face those of the enemy. The rear or reserve included Don Pedro and his personal supporters, with some more English and Gascon men-at-arms, the whole being under the command of the Prince. The two dismounted divisions joined issue with levelled spears, each side trying to break up the iron wall that faced it. The struggle was maintained most gallantly, du Guesclin fully holding his ground. But the Spanish cavalry failed to come up. They hung back, and when the English charged they broke and fled. The English wings then joined hands in surrounding the devoted van. Every man of the force was either taken or killed. Don Enrique got back to Najera and escaped; but the bridge over the Najarilla was soon choked, and numbers were drowned in the river (3 April 1367).<sup>1</sup>

From Najera the allies removed to Burgos. After a due interval of feasting, the Prince began to ask for a settlement of accounts and the delivery of Biscay as promised. After lengthy palavers Pedro promised to pay up within a year—the Infantas

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 470-477.

Beatrice, Costanza, and Isabel to remain at Bayonne as hostages. Left to support his men as best he could, the Prince had to move from place to place, while fever and dysentery decimated his ranks. At last, however reluctantly, he had to turn homewards. Financially involved and broken in health, the Prince returned to Bordeaux. No sooner was he out of Spain than Don Enrique re-entered it (September).

At home the year was not fertile in domestic incidents of importance. The Scots sent their tribute with exemplary punctuality. The French also paid up handsomely, 192,000 crowns being received from Charles on account of the second million of his father's ransom. With minor sums from the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, the extraordinary receipts of the year must have been considerable. No Parliament was held in England; but an important local Parliament was held in Ireland in the first week of March. The Statute of Kilkenny enacted by that assembly "was long regarded as a masterpiece of colonial legislation". It carries the separatist policy to the greatest lengths; forbidding every sort of connexion by marriage, fostering of children, or otherwise, between English and Irish. The only scrap of sound legislation in the whole Act is the institution of Wardens for each county, with power to assess the inhabitants for horsemen, hobelers, and footmen.<sup>1</sup>

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	135,695	14	9½
Wardrobe . . . .	12,328	18	4½
	<hr/>		
	148,024	13	2
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## 42 EDWARD III

1367-1368. From the 1st to the 21st May 1368 a Parliament sat at Westminster. The chief business of the session was the renewal of the grants of 1365 on wool, which had expired. They were granted, but only for two years and at slightly different rates, namely, 38s. 6d. on the sack and twelve-score wool fells; the duty on the last of leather remaining at 80s.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 483-484.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 485.

The Spanish campaign proved the turning-point in the fortunes of the Third Edward. "From that time the swelling tide of prosperity was found to ebb apace." Pedro's default had not released the Prince of Wales from his personal liability to the men who had crossed the Pyrenees under his banner. He hastened to assure the "Fellowships" that they should not be losers by the bad faith of the King of Spain. Edward was rich in his private and public means, but he was extravagant,<sup>1</sup> and was quite unable to meet the further sums due. But the inability to pay off the Free Lances entailed the burden of providing for their subsistence, and the Prince provided for them by quartering them partly on Gascony and partly on France. The Gascons refused to submit to this iniquity; and the Prince therefore early in 1368 was obliged to send the Companies to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Early in February they crossed the Loire and betook themselves to their old hunting-grounds in north-eastern France, their 'chamber' as they called it. Charles V addressed no further complaints to the King of England. The time for that was past. To meet the outstanding debt, a *fouage* or hearth tax of ten *livres Tournois* had been granted by Provincial Estates in 1367. The impost was by no means new, and the lowland districts were prepared to submit. But the warlike Pyrenean lords of Armagnac, Albret and Comminges, refused to allow the *fouage* to be levied on their estates, alleging that under the French Kings their lands had never been subject to toll, tribute, or custom, and that the Prince had sworn to maintain them in these immunities. Edward, however, closing his ears to their protests, the Gascons turned to the King of France as their natural overlord. In April (1368) an appeal against the claim of the Duke of Aquitaine to tax them was lodged with Charles V; and on the 30th June a secret treaty was signed, by which the King confirmed all the immunities of Guyenne; guaranteed them against *fouage* for ten years; and pledged himself never to divest himself of the overlordship for which the Gascons were prepared to fight.

<sup>1</sup> In some of the accounts of Aquitaine, printed by Delpit, *Documents Français*, 176, we find a sum of 445,849 shillings Guienne (£20,000 ?) accounted for as follows: Prince's Household, 211,772s.; Wages of War, 171,305s.; Pensions and Sundry, 22,000s.

They, in return, swore to recognize his overlordship, and fight for him in or out of Guienne. On the morrow Armagnac received a grant of Bigorre and other lands to be won from the English. The treaty of the 30th June was kept secret; but a lengthy memorandum was drawn up, detailing the infractions of the peace of which the King of England had been guilty, and justifying Charles's conduct in entertaining the appeal, on the ground that the pledge not to exercise rights of overlordship was only to hold good to the 30th November 1361, when the reciprocal renunciations at Bruges were to have been delivered; and that as no renunciation had been delivered by Edward, Charles was relieved of his pledge.<sup>1</sup>

Another year having passed without the grant of any Parliamentary Subsidy, the revenue sinks, while Customs also sink and only return £64,334 12s. 10½*d.*

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	80,705	5	6½
Wardrobe . . . .	7,774	18	1½
	<hr/>		
	88,480	3	8
	<hr/>		

### 43 EDWARD III

1368-1369. In January 1369 a formal citation to appear in Paris on the 1st May was presented to the Prince of Wales at Bordeaux. He shook his head wrathfully when the summons was tendered to him. 'We will go to Paris if the King wishes it, but it shall be bassinet on head, and with 60,000 men.' Fine words (if uttered) which the Prince no longer had the power to make good. His ailments were increasing; dropsical symptoms had begun to appear, and he could no longer mount his horse. In his fury he ordered the bearers of the offensive citation—a lawyer and a knight—to be thrown into prison.

It would seem that the Prince had warned his father of impending danger; but the King, "weary of war and old before his time, shut his eyes to the impending storm". The courtiers

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, I. 486-488. See also above.



agreed with him in thinking that the Prince believed in war because he wished for war. Edward's alarm, however, must have been excited before the date assigned to the citation, as reinforcements in men and money had been ordered for Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup> But they were altogether inadequate, the thoughts of the Government being mostly directed towards measures for the defence of Calais and the home coasts, so completely had the tide turned. Charles V, however, kept carefully postponing any declaration of war, or any admission that the treaty of Brétigny had been infringed. He was content to let time work in his favour, and, without neglecting military or naval preparations, he was working for a national movement and a general uprising for the expulsion of the English. Meanwhile envoys were sent over to amuse Edward with negotiations (March). They went back promising that a final answer to Edward's demands should be given by Whitsunday (20 May). On landing they were greeted with the news that the fat was in the fire and the rising begun. On the 29th April the citizens of Abbeville had opened their gates to the Count of Saint-Pol. In eight days all Ponthieu, except Noyelle, was in the hands of the French.

In May Charles held Estates General in Paris. Edward's letters complaining of the reception of the Gascon appeals were laid before the assembly, with the draft of an elaborate answer, in which the French King reasserted his right to receive the appeals, on the ground that the *dernier ressort* had not definitely passed out of his hands, by reason of Edward's default in not tendering a proper renunciation of the Crown of France at the appointed time. The question no doubt was a very nice one. Naturally, and probably rightly, the Estates gave their entire approval of their King's conduct. On the 24th and 25th May letters tantamount to a declaration of war were sent to Edward.

The renunciation of the treaty of Brétigny was laid before a Parliament that met in June. The only retaliation that Edward could suggest was the resumption of the double style; the French arms he had never laid aside.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> £22,000 in cash, and 60 men-at-arms and 80 archers; and again 800 archers; Issue Roll, 43 Edw. III.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, I. 489-492.

The Commons did not urge any vigorous prosecution of the war abroad. They never had urged it at any time, but they were anxious that effectual measures should be taken for the defence of the coasts at home. For supply they suggested that the King might again lay hands on the Priors Alien; while, for themselves, they offered to renew the wool duties, on condition of the abolition of the objectionable Calais Wool-Staple.<sup>1</sup> The King, as usual, conceded everything that was asked, and the surtaxes on wool and leather were renewed for three years, the duties on the sack and the twelve-score fells being raised to 43s. 4d., that on the last remaining at 80s., in addition always to the old *Magna Custuma* from natives, and both *Magna* and *Parva* from aliens. Tenths for three years were granted both by Canterbury and York.

The year witnessed another outbreak of the pestilence, "the Third Plague"; besides a dearth caused by failure of crops, through excessive rains in the autumn. In the following summer wheat rose to 10s. and 20s., rates not seen since 1316.<sup>2</sup> An order of the 8th June for removing the shambles from the City may mark the beginning of the epidemic in London. On the 22nd July Archbishop Whittlesey ordered public prayers, the pestilence then raging. Greatest of the losses was that of Edward's faithful Queen, Philippa of Hainault. Her removal left the way open for 'the reign of Alice Perrers'—otherwise Lady Windsor, one of Philippa's ladies, who was now raised in everything but the name to the dignity of a Queen.<sup>3</sup>

With the Scots an extension of the truce for fourteen years was proclaimed. Edward agreed to give time for the payment of the balance of the ransom, which was put down as £34,000, to be liquidated by annual instalments of 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s. 4d.) each, instead of £4,000, as originally stipulated. But the most interesting provision of the new compact was the proclamation of unrestricted intercourse between the two countries without requirement of leave or licence.<sup>4</sup>

Abroad the whole Dominion was honeycombed with disaffection. By March (1369) eight hundred places were said to have 'turned French'.<sup>5</sup> The King's original intention had

<sup>1</sup> See above under 1363.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, Prices, I. 213; II. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, I. 492-493.

<sup>4</sup> 20th and 24th August; id. 495.

<sup>5</sup> Genesis, II. 1.

been to send the Duke of Lancaster as well as his brother Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, to Aquitaine. The revolt of Ponthieu led to a change of plans. The Duke was sent to Calais with a force of 100 men-at-arms and 600 archers, while Cambridge went to Aquitaine with 400 men-at-arms and as many archers.<sup>1</sup>

Landing in the friendly territory of Brittany, Edmund was sent across the Loire to fight his way south with the support of Chandos and of Calverley and other Free Lances. The English not only wasted their forces in desultory raids, but also, unfortunately, they failed to act together. Before the close of the year the Agenais, Bigorre, Millau in Rovergue, and Tulle in the Limousin were lost to the English. But on the whole it appears that they were holding out better in the newly acquired districts of Poitou than in the old Gascon provinces.<sup>2</sup>

Of John of Gaunt's doings in the North little need be said; in fact the position he had to occupy was essentially a defensive one. Late in July he landed at Calais. Charles was at Rouen, superintending the equipment of an armament intended for a descent on England; his younger brother, now Duke of Burgundy by marriage, was sent to oppose Lancaster, and took up his position on a little hill at Tournehem; the English being established a few miles off on their own territory, between Guisnes and Ardres, in fact on "Calculy" or 'Chalk Hill'. There the two hosts watched each other day after day without attempting anything. The English, boxed up on a hill, were in a very bad state, but the French knights were the first to tire of the situation. On the 12th September Burgundy fired his camp and disbanded his host, leaving the country at the mercy of the English. Accordingly, after a brief interval, Lancaster started on a fresh tour of devastation, making for Rouen, where he hoped to destroy the French fleet. But it had already crossed the Channel and burnt Portsmouth. With ranks sadly thinned by want and sickness John returned to Calais. The Plague was raging, and, as in England, the harvest had been a failure. Chief of those who succumbed to the pestilence abroad was the veteran Earl Marshal, Thomas Beauchamp, the fighting Earl of

<sup>1</sup> K. R. Excheq. "Army", Bundle 25, No. 28; Genesis, I. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 3, 4.

Warwick. On the 19th November Lancaster took ship for England.

For the dismal half-year the expenditure had risen in round numbers to £154,000. The revenue also rises wonderfully, considering the depressed state of the country, and, in fact, it comes out as the highest but one of the reign. This we must attribute to the Triennial Clerical Tenths. Unfortunately the actual yield has not come down; but we have seen that in round numbers Tenths at this time could return from £60,000 to £100,000; and there is evidence that in the present case pressure was put upon the clergy to obtain payment in advance. The Customs at £64,517 are not enough to explain the big year's revenue.

Revenue :				£	s.	d.
Pells	.	.	.	247,222	17	8½
Wardrobe	.	.	.	5,903	3	10½
				<hr/>		
				253,126	1	7
				<hr/>		

#### 44 EDWARD III

1369-1370. In Aquitaine the tide of desertion from the English never ceased. Those who were afraid to join the French openly, left the country, to avoid giving succour to the enemy. Plans of campaign were laid on both sides. The French arranged for an advance in force from Toulouse down the valley of the Garonne, to be led by the Duke of Anjou and Du Guesclin.

In England the King resolved to put his trust in John of Gaunt and Robert Knolles, the latter held by English and French alike the ablest captain of all the Free Lances. The Duke of Lancaster would go to Aquitaine, with powers virtually enabling him to supersede the Prince. John was probably one of those who in 1368 had advised the King to disregard the Prince's warnings. The Prince's warnings having been fully verified, the cry now was that the revolt had been caused by the Prince's harshness and want of tact, and that a liberal expenditure of pardons and honours would soon win back the rebellious Gascons.

Knolles was appointed to lead an expedition into Picardy



with unlimited powers to act as King's Lieutenant outside Aquitaine.

Anjou's march down the right bank of the Garonne proved a series of triumphs; Moissac, Agen, Port Sainte-Marie opened their gates; Aiguillon and Tonneins followed suit (July). The crowning incident of the autumn on the English side was the too notorious siege and sack of Limoges. The place had been held for the English by some Lances under Calverley. But the Bishop Jean de Cros was master of the place, and his sympathies were with his countrymen. Limoges, accordingly, 'turned French'. The Prince was infuriated by this defection. The Bishop was a man in whom he had placed especial confidence. His temper, perhaps, had already been tried by the arrival of Lancaster with his commission. To the siege of Limoges every available man was hurried. Unable to ride a horse, the Prince started for his last campaign on a litter. Night and day he kept his sappers at work. At the end of six days the works were complete; the pit-props were fired, and at daybreak on the 19th September a large piece of the wall collapsed. The English footmen rushed in, a gate was secured, and the city was won. Man, woman, and child were butchered without mercy, the Prince in his litter looking on. The offending Bishop, of course, and the chivalry were saved, but nothing else was saved. This incident has been represented as a single stain on a fair scutcheon. It was in fact the closing act of a life spent in brutal warfare. Countless places from Caen to Carcassonne had met more or less with similar treatment. But the malignant purpose evinced by the Prince gives a lurid pre-eminence to the day of Limoges. The Prince then returned to Bordeaux to wind up affairs and prepare for going home.<sup>1</sup>

Knolles justified the King's confidence and his own reputation; he led his little army, largely recruited with volunteers, and numbering just 1,412 men-at-arms and 1,436 archers, 2,848 men all told,<sup>2</sup> from Calais to the gates of Paris, and from thence through the heart of France into Maine, and ultimately into the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> K. R. Excheq. "Army", Bundle 30, No. 25; for the shipping (about 1,000 tons), id. No. 24. The *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 323, give Knolles 1,600 lances and 2,500 archers. On the Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 44 Edw., we find that 8,464 horses were shipped, p. 269 (Devon).



friendly territory of Bretagne, without having suffered the smallest check, or even found an enemy prepared to cross swords with him. But, again, it was a mere raid, without other object than devastation. Late in July he landed at Calais, and, without loss of time, began his march through Artois and Picardy. No sieges were attempted, but the open country was ravaged, except where the people were willing to pay for immunity, a system very necessary where the military chest had to support itself. One of the causes of Knolles's success as privateersman was his moderation and judgment in not squeezing the people beyond what they could bear. A French force watched his movements, but kept out of reach, just as he kept out of reach of the walled cities. On Sunday, 22nd September, he halted at Ablon, on the left bank of the Seine, opposite Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. Two days later he marched his men in defiant array up to the very barrier of Saint-Marcel. Once more King Charles had to endure the sight of blazing suburbs, as Villejuif, Arcueil, and Gentilly were given to the flames. De Clisson consoled him with the cynical remark that after all it was but smoke, and that the English could never smoke him out of France. As the French would not come out to fight, Sir Robert drew back to Antony, and next day turned westwards towards Maine.<sup>1</sup>

But his chief difficulties were with his subordinates. The young men of birth looked upon him as an adventurer. John Minstersworth, a Gloucestershire knight, who had brought the largest contingent next to that of Knolles, assumed the leadership of the malcontents, and broke off on his own account, only to be utterly defeated by Du Guesclin, who had been summoned from the Limousin and appointed Constable of France. Knolles retired to his estate at Derval in Brittany and disbanded his forces.<sup>2</sup>

No Parliament was summoned this year, the attention of the nation being fixed on the war abroad. With the Triennial Tenths granted in the previous year the revenue keeps up.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	224,624	4	9½
Wardrobe <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	1,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	225,624	4	9½
	<hr/>		

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 11.<sup>2</sup> Id. 11, 12.<sup>3</sup> Share of lumped sum.

## 45 EDWARD III

1370-1371. As the tide of success was stayed, and affairs were evidently going backward, the war became less and less popular. Public discontent naturally turned against the Ministers, and as the Ministers were ecclesiastics, their unpopularity gave the signal for an attack on the clergy.

On the 24th February 1371 a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, asked for a grant for the defence of the King's possessions at home and abroad. The 'adversary' was growing so strong that even an attack upon England might be feared. The lay Estates answered by an address representing the 'mischiefs' that arose from the conduct of the government by ecclesiastics whom it was impossible to bring to account; and praying that, for the future, none but laymen should be appointed to the higher offices of state, such as those of Chancellor, Treasurer, or Baron of the Exchequer. The King was loath to remove his Ministers, but had to give way. William of Wykeham handed over the Great Seal to Robert Thorpe, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. In return, Parliament agreed to a grant of £50,000, to be raised by an average contribution of 2*s.* 3*d.* from each parish, it being calculated that there were 40,000 parishes in England. But from the official returns of the bishops it was found that the number of parishes in all England, excluding the county of Chester, was only 8,600; and that the average assessment therefore must be raised to 11*s.* per parish.<sup>1</sup>

From the Customs' Accounts we learn that for the defence of the coasts the merchants granted for one year extra duties or 'Subsidies' of 2*s.* on the tun of wine and 6*s.* on the £1 of general merchandise (*avoirdupois*).

The Parliament of 1371 "marks the beginning of those political movements and party combinations which continued throughout the next fifteen years".<sup>2</sup>

The clergy, of course, were called on to contribute their share

<sup>1</sup> So in 1060 it was supposed that there were 60,000 knight's fees in England when there were only some 6,000-7,000; *Foundations of England*, II. 131.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *Age of Wickliffe*, 4, 111; *Genesis*, II. 13-16.

of the £50,000. To work on their feelings, the Prince of Wales, who had returned home in February or March,<sup>1</sup> was dragged from his retirement at Berkhamstead for a conference in the parlour of the Savoy. The Southern Province was induced to promise to agree to the grant, if the Northern Province and the exempt and privileged clergy would join in contributing. In due time the York clergy gave their consent, the quota laid upon them being one-fifth. From the official return we find that the grant took the shape of another Triennial Tenth, yielding :

	£	s.	d.
The first year . . .	17,034	19	9
The second year . . .	15,328	6	6
The third year . . .	23,540	2	8
	<hr/>		
	55,903	8	11
	<hr/>		

The combined total thus gives an average of £18,634 9s. 7d., much the old sum.

In Aquitaine the hand-to-hand struggle never ceased. The condition of the province must have been deplorable. 'The strong trampled on the weak, neither right, nor law, nor reason was rendered to any one. The cities and the castles were all interlaced—some English, some French; and they rode, and ransomed, and pillaged each other without sparing.'<sup>2</sup> But altogether the current of the year was against the English. In the general confusion the Free Lances were again raising their heads, John of Gaunt conniving at their depredations because he thought that he might yet need their aid.

By his arrangements with his brother the Duke of Lancaster was not bound to remain in Aquitaine after the 24th June 1371. On the 31st July he surrendered his powers and office to the Captal de Buch and Thomas Felton, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, the Prince's most trusted officers. Not content with his fine position in England, the Duke aspired to figure as a European potentate. To his ambitious mind the hand of a Castilian heiress seemed to open a plain way to a kingly throne. Henry of Trastamare had ousted and got rid of his brother. But Pedro

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Petit Thalamus. See Armitage Smith, 'John of Gaunt'.

the Cruel had settled the crown of Castile on his daughters by Maria de Padilla, in priority to his sons by other ladies. Beatrix, the eldest, had retired to a nunnery and died there. Costanza, the next daughter, was brought from her retirement at Bayonne and married to the Duke of Lancaster, at Roquefort in the Landes; a little later the Earl of Cambridge took her sister Isabel to wife, and then all four went home to England.<sup>1</sup>

The year's accounts show a moderate total, the heavy Subsidies not having come in yet. The Customs, on the other hand, run high, reaching £73,910 6s. 7½d.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	105,059	6	9½
Wardrobe . . . . .	1,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	106,059	6	9½
	<hr/>		

## 46 EDWARD III

1371-1372. John of Gaunt had not ventured to assume the style of King of Castile without consulting the King. In March 1372 the leave was given, the King thus fully implicating himself in the folly of his son. In February the Duke simply signs as 'John son of the King'; on the 3rd March he signs as 'John by the grace of God'. The immediate consequence was that the alliance between France and Henry of Trastamare became a reality, and that the actual King of Castile came forward to take an active part in the war, of which, as yet, he had been but a passive spectator.

Lancaster's return having left Aquitaine without a head, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed King's Lieutenant (20 April).<sup>2</sup> About the 10th June he sailed from Southampton with some thirty-six ships, a moderate complement of soldiers, and a large sum of money. Off La Rochelle, Pembroke found a Spanish armament under Ambrosio Bocanegra, the Admiral of Castile,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 17-19. Lancaster signs at La Rochelle in September, and at Plymton 12th November.

<sup>2</sup> John Hastings, son of Lawrence Hastings, created Earl of Pembroke, 1339; Complete Peerage. Lawrence had succeeded to a good deal of the property of William de Valence.

waiting to receive him. Bocanegra had thirteen 'barges' and forty large ships, 'well found and turreted as ships of Spain are'. The English ships were fewer in number and smaller in size, the English shipbuilders of the time being distinctly behind those of Spain or Italy. An action ensued at once, and the English by dint of hard fighting managed to get off with the loss of two provision 'barges'. Next morning at high water the Spaniards renewed the engagement. The wind was in their favour, and they were able to surround the English, so as to bring their superior weight to bear. 'A perilous and felon fight' ensued; but the English were utterly overpowered. Pembroke at one time had four Spaniards aboard of him; by midday all was over, and the whole English force taken or destroyed; not a ship or a man escaped. With this defeat—the greatest probably ever sustained by the English Navy—ended the career of John Earl of Pembroke. He was carried off to Spain, to languish three years in bonds, and die on the way home.<sup>1</sup>

Pembroke's defeat gave a great impulse to the French cause in Aquitaine. Du Guesclin immediately entered Poitou, and in a few days made himself master of Lussac, Montmorillon, and Chauvigny. He then turned aside to attack Saint-Sévère, a troublesome outpost in Berri held by the English. For the relief to Saint-Sévère Poitiers was denuded of its garrison, whereupon the French party rose and admitted the Constable. The heart-burnings and recriminations to which this last reverse gave rise broke up the English camp. Unable to agree upon a leader, or a plan, the three nationalities went off, each their own way; namely, the Poitevins to Thouars, the English to Niort, and the Gascons to Saint-Jean d'Angely.

But by this time the Spanish Admirals, having deposited their prizes and captives at home, had returned to lay siege to La Rochelle, French at heart, but held by an English garrison. They were joined by a French squadron, commanded, strange to say, by an enterprising Welshman, one Owen ap Thomas, claiming descent from the House of Jorwerth. Earlier in the year he had overrun Guernsey. Seeing that the reduction of La Rochelle might take time, he went off to assist in an attack on the Castle of Soubize at the mouth of the Charente, and by

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 21-23.



skilful management brought Soubize to terms. Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Angoulême, Taillebourg, Saintes, and Pons followed suit, the English retiring to Bordeaux (September). Lastly, after a formal capitulation and a bargain carefully negotiated on both sides, La Rochelle opened its gates to Du Guesclin. In Poitou, however, Thouars, Niort, and a few lesser forts were still held by the English. Having cleared the March of La Rochelle, after a very brief pause, the Constable marched northwards against Thouars,<sup>1</sup> leaving Niort in his rear. Thouars was held by Poitevins; Niort by English and Gascons. The Poitevins at Thouars soon came to the conclusion that the requirements of loyalty and honour would be fully satisfied by a convention agreeing for surrender by a fixed day, namely, the 11th November, failing relief. Martinmas came and went, but no succour appeared. Thouars turned French, and there ended the disastrous campaign of 1372.<sup>2</sup>

Edward had been greatly stirred by the report of Pembroke's disaster. Rousing himself from his lethargy, he announced that the next succour for Aquitaine would be led by the King in person. In like spirit the Prince of Wales declared that he too would join the expedition; he might die on the voyage, but still he would go. On the 1st July John of Gaunt, 'King of Castile and Leon', signed an agreement with his father, undertaking to serve in Aquitaine for a year with 500 men-at-arms and as many archers. Great efforts were made to remove difficulties at home and abroad. A treaty with Flanders, by which free trading intercourse had been established between the two countries, the Flemings undertaking not to carry enemies' goods or contraband of war in their bottoms, was confirmed; and the alliance with John de Montfort, the Duke of Brittany, renewed and cemented by the grant of the earldom of Richmond, surrendered by John of Gaunt in exchange for other fiefs. With Scotland relations remained friendly, the ill-starred Stewart Dynasty having been installed in the person of Robert II, the grandson of the Bruce; David II had passed away the year before.<sup>3</sup>

About the 1st September Edward loosed from Sandwich harbour. For five weeks the Royal armament was tossed about

<sup>1</sup> Deux Sèvres.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 19, 27. The instalment of ransom due was paid.

the Channel, the sport of the winds and the waves. Even the King's weather had deserted him. Baffled and defeated, in the first week of October he put back into the "Fi' Ports". The Prince of Wales, as if in despair, finally surrendered Aquitaine into his father's hands.<sup>1</sup>

With so much campaigning the expenditure of the year, as shown by the Pell Issue Rolls, was very heavy. But with the liberal grants of the previous year, the receipts were equal to it, while the Customs with their extra dues amount to £82,194 1s. 9½d.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . .	215,514	0	10½
Wardrobe . . . .	3,245	6	10
	<hr/>		
	218,759	7	8½
	<hr/>		

#### 47 EDWARD III

1372-1373. On the 3rd November (1372) a Parliament met at Westminster. The King was in need of money, and the Estates admitted the urgency of the case. The wool duties were renewed for two years at the high rates imposed in 1369, namely, 43s. 4d. on the sack and 120 wool fells, and 80s. on the last of leather. A Fifteenth for one year was also granted; the burgesses also, after the departure of the knights, agreed at the Prince's request to allow for another year the duties of 'tunnage and poundage', voted in the previous year, for the protection of the merchant navy. The Fifteenth was to be levied and taken 'as the last Fifteenth was levied and taken'.<sup>2</sup> With respect to this grant, any Fifteenth, pure and simple, we have not had during the reign; and as the burgesses are expressly mentioned as concurring, and they were always assessed at Tenths, we take it that the grant was one of a Fifteenth and Tenth at the rate at which the last Fifteenth and Tenth stood; and that we took at £36,000. But the returns of the present Subsidy are not forthcoming.

In March (1373) Du Guesclin was again afield in Poitou to gather up the fragments that remained. The place singled out

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. II. 310; Genesis, II. 27.

by him for assault was Chizé,<sup>1</sup> and there the English party received its death-blow. The men of Chizé sallied out rashly, and were overwhelmed before succour could reach them. Niort, Lusignan, and Mortemer then opened their gates. Saving La Roche-sur-Yon<sup>2</sup> and a few minor forts, Poitou was lost to the English. In three years' time France had practically recovered all the Brétigny cessions and more to boot.

Edward had resolved again to make Brittany a base of operations against France. He had the control of Brest and other places. In March the Earl of Salisbury was sent to Saint-Malo, with 300 men-at-arms and as many archers. But the Bretons, who were thoroughly French in feeling, rose against their Duke and sent for aid to Paris. Duke John found that instead of winning lands in France he might chance to lose his duchy, and that his person was no longer safe among his own subjects. On the 28th April he finally took ship for England. Du Guesclin then came down with a considerable force. Knolles, who acted as the Duke's representative, could make no real stand against him. In fact, no resistance was offered except by English garrisons. By the month of July Brest, Auray, and Derval were the only holds left to the English.<sup>3</sup>

The great armament, Edward's last effort to recover that which was lost, was committed, for want of better leadership, to John of Gaunt. The King had resolved to try the effect of another invasion of France, in the hope, perchance, of provoking another Crécy or a second Poitiers. On the 12th June the 'King of Castile' was named King's Lieutenant for France and Aquitaine with all powers. In the course of July he landed at Calais, to take command of an army worthy of England's last effort. The Duke of Brittany came with him. The force had been swelled by auxiliaries from Germany and the Low Countries, also, by way of a novelty, by a body of 300 lances from Scotland, sent by Robert II, the new King. In recent expeditions to Aquitaine the archers had been little more numerous than the men-at-arms, so that 4,000-5,000 men would be a likely total. The French King's chronicler pronounced the army the finest that had been turned out by Edward III.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux Sèvres.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 29-32.

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Bourbon-Vendée.

<sup>4</sup> Grandes Chroniques, VI. 342.

Slow to move, John of Gaunt was still at Calais on the 3rd August, and, when he did move, his advance was leisurely, by easy stages of from two to four leagues a day (6-12 miles?) and halting early, about *haute noune* (3 p.m.). Starting again in three divisions, they crossed the Somme between Corbie and Bray, their foraging extending to a belt of country equal to the space between those towns. From the line of the Somme they marched in two parallel columns. In the rich lands of Vermandois and Champagne the greatest havoc was done, it being time of harvest. On the French side the old tactics were adhered to: the open country and the villages were abandoned to their fate; the fortified towns were 'held in silence'; no army was allowed to appear in the field; but the best lances in France hovered on the English flanks, cutting off stragglers. At Troyes the invaders were met by Papal envoys, namely, the Archbishop of Ravenna and the Bishop of Carpentras, anxious for peace. But John had no authority to treat of peace, and no inclination to grant a truce. So the army held on its way, pillaging, ransoming, and burning. From Champagne they moved into Burgundy, the French watching them, but keeping out of reach, and retiring at night to friendly strongholds; while the English for the most part had to bivouac in the open. So long, however, as the route led through Burgundy, Beaujolais, and Forez, the foragers kept the camp pretty well supplied; but when they struck across the Loire and Allier into the barren hills of Auvergne the case was altered, the pinch of want was soon felt, and horses and men died quickly. In Limousin and Périgord they fared little better, the land having been utterly wasted in the previous campaigns. With one-third of their numbers gone, they finally reached Bordeaux, apparently late in December. The last and biggest of Edward's raids had proved the costliest. The petty towns of Martel, Belloc, and Demanac (?) were the only conquests, and they were soon lost. In England it was reported that at Bordeaux gentle knights might be seen begging their bread from door to door, 'and no man gave unto them'.<sup>1</sup>

While preparing for their expedition, John of Gaunt had been assiduously cultivating relations with Portugal. If, in the face of

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 32-34. See also Armitage Smith's *John of Gaunt*, 104-115, and the map there of the march.

all that he had seen of the war, he dreamed of marching from the reduction of France to the conquest of Castile, his presumption and folly must, indeed, have been wonderful.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	200,290	16	9½
Wardrobe . . . . .	3,245	6	0
	<hr/>		
	203,536	2	9½
	<hr/>		

## 48 EDWARD III

1373-1374. At home a Parliament was held at Westminster from the 23rd November to the 10th December. If the results of the expedition had reached the ears of the Government, they were not divulged. On the contrary, the operations by sea and land were represented as having been highly creditable to the King and realm; but the Chancellor, John Knyvett, admitted that the expenditure had exceeded the proceeds of the grants voted in the last Parliament; the King, therefore, he said, requested the Commons to be ready on the morrow to give 'counsel and advice', 'all manner of petitions and other business being suspended'. The tone was unfortunate, and the demand for aid without reference to the petitions was a direct challenge to the Commons. They met it by an appeal to the Lords, asking them to appoint some of their number to confer with them, "thus showing that whatever might have been the minor jealousies of class or estate in former years, the Commons still trusted the Lords".<sup>1</sup>

After five days' consultation, the Lords and Commons gave in a written consent to a grant of Fifteenths for two years, with a prolongation of the existing duties on wool, wine, and general merchandise for the like period; the grants for the second year being made dependent on the continuance of the war: no member of Parliament to be appointed collector of any of the imposts. The Commons complained among other things of the persistent aggressions of the Papacy through 'Provisions' and

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs.



exaction of 'First Fruits'. The answer on this point was that negotiations were actually pending for an adjustment of the relations with the Papacy. But 'First Fruits' and 'Provisions' were not the only Papal exactions of which the clergy at that moment had to complain. A demand for 100,000 florins, as a contribution for the Papal war against the Florentines, had been hanging over their heads for some time. The amount (£33,333 6s. 8d.) was nearly equal to two Tenths, but the King wanted a Tenth for himself; and as usual the Royal demands took precedence. The clergy showed a disposition to resist; but eventually a Tenth was voted in each Province.

With respect to the Fifteenths voted by Parliament, as the burgesses are again mentioned as concurring, we shall take the tax as including Tenths from the baronage, with the same yield of £36,000 as last year. As for the Clerical Tenth, we shall take it at the mean of the three years returned in 1371, say, in round numbers, £18,000.

But the burning question of the hour was that of the tallage demanded by Gregory XI<sup>1</sup> for the Florentine war. To consider his demand, a Grand Council of prelates and barons was held at Westminster. The Prince of Wales and the Archbishop of Canterbury presided; to the right and left of them were ranged the prelates and barons, all in due order. On a form or bench<sup>2</sup> in front of them sat four Doctors of Divinity, chosen disputants, while canonists and lawyers squatted on rugs on the floor.<sup>3</sup> Knyvett, the Chancellor, opened the proceedings, explaining that they were met to consider the Papal demand for a tallage from the clergy, and that Gregory based his claim to exact a tallage on the double ground of being Christ's Vicar on earth, and also overlord of England, by virtue of King John's grant. He invited the clergy to consider the one point, and the barons to consider the other point. Whittlesey and the prelates, of course, could not possibly deny that Christ was Lord of all.<sup>4</sup> The canonists were divided in opinion, some accepting, some rejecting the temporal power. Archbishop Whittlesey being pressed for

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Roger, again a Frenchman, crowned 5th January 1371.

<sup>2</sup> "*In una forma.*"

<sup>3</sup> "*Decretistae et legistae super tapetia in area sedebant.*"

<sup>4</sup> "*Ipse est omnium dominus, non possumus hoc negare.*"

his opinion, declined to give any, until brutally ordered by the Prince to do so. 'Answer, donkey.'<sup>1</sup> Whittlesey got out of the difficulty by saying that he had no wish that the Pope should be lord of England; 'he was quite willing that the Pope should not be such'. The other prelates accepted this formula. The question of the validity of John's charter was then submitted to the barons and rejected with scorn (May).<sup>2</sup>

But the Government were once more beginning to show some sort of inclination to think of peace, and to listen to the Pope's summons to a congress to be held at Bruges for the double purpose of arranging, on the one hand, terms of peace between England and France, and, on the other hand, of defining the relations of the temporal governments to the Holy See. Such an invitation could not be ignored, however little England was prepared to recognize Papal pretensions. On the 20th July Edward named his commissioners. John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, was at the head of the list, the second name being that of John Wycliffe, Doctor of Divinity.

The hollow peace negotiations dragging their slow length along, the war continued its course throughout the year 1374, all to the advantage of the French. A futile appointment taken between the Duke of Anjou and John of Gaunt for 'a day'—that neither cared to abide—led to a short truce, under cover of which the Duke of Lancaster sailed home, to meet the black looks of his father and elder brother (May).

John's retirement from the field left Gascony at the mercy of the French. The truce having expired, Du Guesclin entered Bigorre, and wrested Mauvezin, Saint-Sévère, and Lourdes from English hands. A fresh challenge was then issued to the English for a meeting on the 15th August, the Count of Foix promising to give in his adherence to the King of France, if the English did not show substantial reasons to the contrary. The French kept their 'day'; but Thomas Felton, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, had nothing but excuses to offer for the non-appearance of a sufficient force on his side. The Count at once gave in his homage to Charles V, and the French troops pressed forward. On the 27th August La Réole signed a capitulation. Langon, Saint-Macaire, Sainte-Bazille and other towns submitted

<sup>1</sup> " *Asine responde.*"

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 38-40.

likewise. By the end of September the English dominion was pretty well cut down to Bayonne and Bordeaux; while, in the North, the territory of the vassal Duke of Brittany was still further curtailed by the loss of Becherel, which surrendered to the French on the 1st November.<sup>1</sup>

With all the grants the revenue still keeps up.

Revenue :

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	217,363	15	6
Wardrobe . . . . .	4,962	0	0
	<hr/>		
	222,325	15	6
	<hr/>		

#### 49 EDWARD III

1374-1375. Considering his previous want of success, it seems strange that John of Gaunt should have induced the Government to entrust him with one more military command. A regular armament was out of the question. But he was allowed to enlist men to serve under his personal flag. Safe-conducts were made out for a motley total of some 700 men of all sorts. It would seem that the King ordered the force once more to embark for Aquitaine, but that again the winds frustrated his purpose. Edward then at last resigned himself to the idea of a truce. On the 11th February 1375 an armistice was signed at Bourbourg on the Flemish frontier, but only to cover Artois, Picardy, and Boulogne, with a duration to Easter (22 April). A week later John of Gaunt, the Bishop of London, and the Earl of Salisbury were authorized to discuss the terms of a peace or truce, with full powers to settle all questions; the conferences to begin at Bruges on the 11th March. Great expectations were formed in England of the result of the negotiations; it was fondly believed that the eloquence and diplomatic skill of the Duke of Lancaster would secure a triumphant peace. The full execution of the Brétigny terms, or something not far short of that, was still supposed to be possible; and it would seem that the envoys were actually forbidden to accept of anything less.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 40-43.

Charles V laid their demands before a Grand Council in Paris, and obtained the fullest authority for refusing any cessions in absolute sovereignty—the point on which the English insisted—but subject to that reservation, he was again prepared to make liberal concessions in land and money. Peace being impossible, the efforts of the negotiators were then directed towards the adjustment of the terms of a more lengthy truce. On the 27th June the armistice was appointed to last till the 30th June 1376. The English to evacuate Brittany, saving strongholds actually in their hands.<sup>1</sup>

The results of the negotiations with the Papacy, carried on concurrently at Bruges, were not less disappointing than those of the negotiations with France. The grand new Concordat, the outcome of nearly two years' discussions, was published on the 1st September, in the shape of six Bulls issued by the Pope. Gregory XI made some small concessions, which involved no surrender of principle, and, in fact, strengthened his position, by "virtually reasserting the larger claim". As a special favour, he confirmed certain appointments made by the King, cancelling certain counter-appointments made by himself, or by Urban V. He waived his right to present to certain benefices, alleged to have been 'reserved' to the *Curia*; and remitted First Fruits in certain cases. Not a stipulation for the future was allowed to appear upon paper; but the Pope condescended so far as to intimate verbally that he would be moderate in his 'reservations'; and that, in the matter of cathedral elections, he would never 'provide' a bishop until sufficient time had elapsed for the wishes of the King and chapter to be made known to him. The claim of the clergy to have the entire right of nominating bishops was doubtless more than any government could have conceded to them; but the mortification of churchmen at the disappointment of their hopes was not the less great; mortification, however, must have given place to downright indignation, when they learned that, to secure the appearance of having won a concession from the Court of Rome, John of Gaunt had given in to the Papal tallage to the extent of half a Tenth.<sup>2</sup>

The revenue of the year, the last of the reign that is complete,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, Conc. III, 102, 103; Genesis, II. 45, 46.

falls below the average of the past decade. The Customs, however, show the high total of £72,023 15s. 3½d., little short of half the entire Treasury returns.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	147,586	3	1½
Wardrobe . . . . .	5,185	6	1½
	<hr/>		
	152,771	9	3
	<hr/>		

## 50 EDWARD III

1375-1376. The pitiful results of the Bruges conferences completed the unpopularity of John of Gaunt, who now stood before the world as a conspicuous failure, in peace as well as in war. With the Lancaster heritage he had not taken up the liberal politics associated with the name of Lancaster. He cared little for either clergy or commons.

No Parliament had been held since 1373; such an omission, at a time when supplies were known to be greatly needed, could not but increase popular misgivings. At last, on the 28th December (1375) writs for the celebrated Good Parliament were issued; but the session was not opened till the 29th April, when business began, the King being present. Knyvett the Chancellor, in the opening speech, declared the reasons for the meeting of Parliament to be threefold, namely, the maintenance of the peace of the realm, defence against foreign invasion, and the prosecution of the war; the whole amounting to a mere demand for a Subsidy. With his old want of tact, he ended with a summary exhortation to the Houses to be "diligent" in their business. Receivers and Triers of Petitions were appointed, as usual, the 'King of Castile' being at the head of the latter—and then the Commons withdrew from the Painted Chamber to the Chapter House, their usual place of meeting.<sup>1</sup>

Their first step was to request the appointment of a committee of Lords to confer with them, as had been done in 1373. It was felt that a strong arm would be needed to bring the King to even the smallest measure of amendment or reform. An equal number of bishops, earls, and barons were named, among them several

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 47, 48.



men of standing and experience.<sup>1</sup> But the strength of the Commons lay in the support of the Prince of Wales, who was understood to be dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and prepared to back up an attack on the 'Court party', that is to say, not an attack on the King's recognized Ministers—the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal—but on his minions, and his mistress, perhaps in alliance with the Duke of Lancaster, the King himself being the man ultimately aimed at.

The Commons' first act was the appointment of Peter de la Mare as Speaker (Forespeaker; A.-S. *Forespeca*), the first recorded appointment to that office. Addressing the Lords assembled under the Duke of Lancaster in the doleful strain habitual to medieval Parliamentarians when approaching the question of supply, he dwelt on the long series of Subsidies exacted; the vast sums received from extraordinary sources, the ransoms of Kings and captives of war. He asked what had become of all that money? The people insisted on having the guilty parties brought to justice.

The suggestion that the Subsidies had not been expended on the war was most unfounded; the real grievance was that the national resources had been wasted on a hopeless enterprise. But the leaders of the Commons, or those by whom their action was directed, knew better than to call for a general examination of accounts. The intrusions of Treasurer and Keeper of the Wardrobe would be found perfectly in order. What the Commons wanted to bring to light were specific cases of malversation by men in the background, men connected with the Court.<sup>2</sup> A string of men were attacked. Richard Lyons of London, a farmer of Customs, had sold illegal exemptions from the Staple regulations; had pocketed the money, and then advanced it to the King at usurious interest (30,000 marks for 20,000 advanced). It was reported that at the last he had sent money to the Prince, who refused it; and to the King, who took it, with the jocular remark that it was all his. Why not take it? William, Lord Latimer, the King's Chamberlain, was open to many charges. He had concurred with Lyons in the unconscionable loan to the King, having found some of the money, or even taken it out of the King's

<sup>1</sup> See the list, *Genesis*, II. 49; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, II. 50.

own Chamber. John, Lord Neville of Raby was taxed with having taken up the claims of Crown creditors at a discount, and then obtained full payment for himself. Finally, the Commons attacked the King's mistress, Alice Perrers, who was accused of invading the Courts of Justice in order to overawe the Justices, when cases in which she felt interested were pending. To meet her case, women were forbidden to interfere in judicial proceedings,<sup>1</sup> while Alice herself was banished the realm.

At this point the situation underwent a sudden change through the death of the Prince of Wales. On the 8th June 'about the third hour of the day', Edward of Woodstock breathed his last, aged 46 years less 7 days. He was a rough, brave, able soldier, a medieval dragoon, one who could, when he chose, be courteous and considerate to those of his own caste, but nothing more. Towards the Church and clergy, his habitual tone, as we have seen, was one of undisguised contempt. Manly in all things, he bore his long illness with silent fortitude. The remains were embalmed and kept in London till Michaelmas, and then borne in state to Canterbury.<sup>2</sup>

John of Gaunt now took the initiative, boldly asking Parliament to take up the question of the succession, as if there could be any doubt about it. The mere mooted of such a point could not but excite grave suspicion. It was suggested that the Duke hoped that the Estates might be induced to pass a *Salique* Law for England, or, possibly, that his motion was meant as a delicate way of raising the question of the legitimacy of the heir apparent, a point not free from doubt in some men's minds, as the Princess's original husband, the Earl of Salisbury, was still living.<sup>3</sup> But the Commons would not listen to the Duke's proposals, and asked that young Richard of Bordeaux might be brought before them, that they might be assured of his safety.

The Commons then produced the scheme of reform to which their other proceedings had been leading up. Following the precedents of 1258 and 1310, they demanded the appointment

<sup>1</sup> "*Pursuir busoignes en lez Courts du Roi*"; Rot. Parl. II. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 50-55.

<sup>3</sup> The writer of the *Grandes Chroniques*—not a friendly critic, of course—wonders that the English could accept young Richard; VI. 348. The *Salique* Law would be aimed at Philippa of Clarence, married to Edmund Earl of March, and next in succession to the throne after young Richard.

of a standing Committee of Lords to enforce the Ordinary Council. Edward gave his assent, on condition that the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal should not be interfered with in the discharge of the duties appertaining to their offices, an insidious reservation, that nullified the acceptance of an advisory committee, just as happened under Edward II, when, with the Great Seal in his hands, the King remained master of the situation.

But the impeachment of offenders and the appointment of a new Council were only a small part of the business done. The petitions of various kinds delivered and answered numbered 146. All the old grounds of complaint are recapitulated. An interesting demand is that for the election of the knights of the shire by the better folk of the shire, and not merely by nomination by the sheriffs without election.

The Subsidy on wool that would expire at Michaelmas was renewed, with apologies for not giving more; and then Parliament, the longest probably that had ever yet sat, was brought to an end (Eltham, 6 July).

From the list of the Advisory Lords the name of the Duke of Lancaster is conspicuous by its absence. Beyond that, nothing aimed at the Duke distinctly appears. Yet he proceeded to treat the Acts of the Parliament as if they had all been specifically directed against himself. Taking the reins of government into his own hands, he boldly proclaimed that the late Parliament was no Parliament, cancelling all its acts, dismissing the Advisory Lords, and recalling to Court and office the men impeached by the Commons. Making common cause with his father's mistress, he recalled Alice. Vindictive measures against the leaders of the Parliament followed; Peter de la Mare was imprisoned, and William of Wykeham cited before the Privy Council on a preposterous charge of malversation during his tenure of office as Chancellor years before.<sup>1</sup> A significant step taken in connexion with the attempted question of the succession was the practical banishment of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, husband of Philippa of Clarence, the next in succession after young Richard, who was ordered on service abroad.<sup>2</sup>

Revenue :					
Pells	.	.	.	.	107,144 19 0½
Wardrobe wanting.					

<sup>1</sup> Namely, between September 1367 and March 1371. <sup>2</sup> Genesis. II. 55-60.

## 51 EDWARD III

1376-1377. Further measures of a reactionary character had been reserved for a Parliament which was summoned for the 27th January 1377. For the first time in our history, apparently, care was taken to pack the Parliament, and with complete success. Of the knights of the shire who had sat in 1376 only eight were returned in 1377.<sup>1</sup> As a further precaution, the Ministry was changed on the eve of the meeting. On the 11th January Knyvett delivered the Great Seal to Adam Houghton, Bishop of St. Davids; Henry Wakefield, the Bishop of Worcester, becoming Treasurer at the same time. Two clerical partisans were thus secured. But the Duke's position was "beset with difficulties". For his credit at Court, and the prosecution of the war on which the Court was still bent, it was essential that he should obtain a liberal grant from Parliament. But he had shocked the sense of the nation by his arbitrary proceedings, and had driven the clergy into active opposition, first by his submission to the Papal claims, and then by his attack on William of Wykeham. As a further ally in this emergency he bethought him of Wycliffe, with whom he had been brought into contact during the conferences at Bruges. No two men could be more dissimilar in their characters and aims than Lancaster and Wycliffe. But the Duke thought that he could find a useful supporter in the Oxford reformer, the popular preacher, the declared enemy of sacerdotal and episcopal pretensions. "Wycliffe, led away by his own sanguine spirit, and looking on Lancaster as the Puritans of Elizabeth's time looked on Leicester, . . . too readily allowed himself to be used by the unscrupulous politician."<sup>2</sup> In Wycliffe's eyes William of Wykeham, "with his administrative ability, his political energy, and his wealth," would be a mere embodiment of all the evils that held down and oppressed the church.<sup>3</sup> Thus it came to pass that Wycliffe, whose aim was to purify, joined hands with Lancaster, whose object was to humiliate the Church.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Return of Members of Parliament, part i, 193, cited Tout; cf. Chron. Angl. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Stubbs, II. 457.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Green, Hist. I. 468.

<sup>4</sup> Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xxvi. For an epitome of Wycliffe's charges against prelates see his English works, 53.



On the appointed day (27 January 1377) Parliament was opened by the young Prince of Wales, who was treated with elaborate deference by John of Gaunt. The new Chancellor, Adam Houghton, Bishop of St. David's, congratulated the Estates on having such a King, whom God had raised up from a bed of sickness in the fiftieth year of his reign; he earnestly begged them to show themselves members worthy of such a leader, now 'a vessel of grace', and purified from all taint of sin—if indeed there ever had been any. The point of the discourse was the urgent need of money to meet the war, that, as he alleged, the French were preparing to renew under cover of the truce. In fact, they were anxious for peace, and making the most liberal offers for it.

The question of the Subsidy was taken up by the Commons in conjunction with a committee of twelve peers, mostly of the Duke's party, appointed to confer with them. Four alternatives were suggested by the Ministers. They might offer: (a) a double Subsidy of two Fifteenths and Tenths; (b) an *alcavala* of 1*d.* on the £1 on all sales of goods effected during a year; (c) a scutage of £1 on the knight's fee; (d) a *fouage* or hearth-tax of 4*d.* Of these imposts the second and fourth were absolutely new to England, though not unknown in Gascony. The reader will notice the financial ignorance that could apparently set a scutage that might yield £6,000 or £7,000 in the balance against a double Subsidy that could not well yield less than £70,000. Of course, proposals so novel, and so varied in their incidence, could not but lead to protracted discussions.<sup>1</sup>

Concurrently with the Parliament, the clergy had been summoned in Convocation to consider the question of their grant (3 February); and they too were ready with their grievances. Where was the Bishop of Winchester? Why was he not present? Archbishop Sudbury explained that he had been banished from Court by the King; but Courtenay, the Bishop of London, a man of high spirit and connexions,<sup>2</sup> told the clergy to stand on their rights and refuse to give anything, till the Bishop was allowed to appear. The King, when appealed to, consented, and William of Wykeham took his seat in Convocation. Not content with

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 60, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Hugh Courtenay II, Earl of Devon, and great-grandson of Edward I.



having scored this success, Courtenay proceeded to attack the Duke through his new ally, Wycliffe. A certain political connexion between him and the Duke must have become notorious. He was ordered to appear before a committee of bishops at St. Paul's on the 19th February, to answer charges of heretical teaching. The 'heresies' imputed were social and political rather than theological; Wycliffe, as yet, had not developed doctrinal views at variance with orthodox teaching. But the principles on which he defended the ecclesiastical policy of his new patron might easily have appeared to many as "subversive of the framework of society".<sup>1</sup>

At the appointed hour Wycliffe appeared at St. Paul's with Lancaster, Henry Lord Percy,<sup>2</sup> and four Mendicant Doctors of Divinity to support him. The proceedings proved tumultuous. The church was crowded; Percy, as Marshal, ordering his men to clear a way by force for the Ducal party, was met by Bishop Courtenay with a peremptory inhibition. In the Lady Chapel a fresh altercation broke out on the question whether Wycliffe should be allowed the indulgence of a seat or not. Lancaster swore that he would humble the pride of all the bishops in England; finally, losing his temper utterly, he threatened to drag Courtenay out by the hair of his head. At this point the mob rose and the meeting broke up in confusion.<sup>3</sup>

A report now gained ground that the Duke was planning an attack on the City franchises, and that the jurisdiction of the Mayor was to be suspended. Percy's mansion was pillaged and Wycliffe set free; the Savoy was threatened; but the Duke and Percy had taken refuge with the Princess of Wales at Kennington. Through her mediation the citizens were granted an audience of the King, to apologize for recent acts of violence. "Edward's gracious demeanour and ready promises had their usual effect." The excitement subsided, and the work of Parliament and Convocation was brought to a conclusion. The Commons

<sup>1</sup> Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xxvi. See also the Pope's language, "*Etiam saecularem politiam subvertere nituntur*"; "*omnem destruere politiam*"; Walsingham, I. 346, &c. See also Bp. Stubbs, sup. 460. "His logical system of politics, when it was applied to practice, turned out to be little else than socialism."

<sup>2</sup> Percy had just been given the Marshal's staff taken from Mortimer, the Earl of March; later in the year he was created Duke of Northumberland.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 63, 64.

contented themselves with the grant of a wretched poll-tax of 4*d.* a head on all persons over fourteen years of age. The clergy, content for once to follow the lead of the laity, agreed to extend the poll-tax to themselves, seculars and regulars alike agreeing to pay 4*d.* a head, a paltry contribution in comparison with the Tenth usually granted. From clergy and laity together the tax brought in £22,667 2*s.* 8*d.*

The reign closed without further incidents of consequence. On the 23rd April the heir apparent was knighted and installed of the Garter. On the 26th of the month ambassadors were once more commissioned to treat of peace with France. But the *dernier ressort* was still the difficulty, and a petty extension of the truce to the 24th June was all that could be obtained. Three days before that, about seven o'clock of the evening, Edward of Windsor had passed away at Richmond, in the 65th year of his life and the 51st of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

Revenue :	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	97,520	5	11
Wardrobe wanting.			

Edward was a man of the sensuo-athletic type, morally weak, easily led, fond of pomp and show, selfish, extravagant and ambitious, without sense of duty or regard for justice. Of money he was greedy to meanness. But a fine presence, charming manners, and a happy readiness to promise, carried him through every difficulty.

A survey of the Petitions, presented in the Good Parliament, leads to the conclusion that the charge to be brought against Edward's government was rather one of maladministration than of any deliberate purpose of creating a despotism. Edward paid little regard to the constitution ; but if he was not actuated by any strong "repressive policy", neither, on the other hand, did he exercise any check on dishonesty and extortion among his servants. Laxity and want of moral purpose confront us at every turn. But if England owed little to Edward III, "she owes a great deal to his reign". It was a period of strong contrasts ; a period of almost continual war ; of war marked by brilliant victories, heroic campaigns, and unbroken success ; but with nothing in the end to show for it all but Berwick and Calais,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 64-67.

The war, no doubt, "placed England in the forefront of Christendom and gave her a new consciousness of unity and importance."<sup>1</sup> But the military classes were demoralized by lust of plunder, and a peaceful population infected with war-fever. At home we have the population suffering from war, taxation, pestilence, and famine; but at the same time we have to note a great moral upheaval, marked, in successive stages, by Richard Rolle, Langland, and Wycliffe.

Turning to our Table I the reader will find figures showing that, leaving out six years that are wanting or incomplete, the revenue, omitting shillings and pence, might run from £35,640 a year to £272,833 a year. The average of the forty-five years that are complete comes out in round numbers as £140,000 a year. We may contrast this sum with the £91,000 that we found as the conjectural average of the reign of the King's father or the £58,560 that we found for the last five years of the reign of his grandfather. These figures are interesting as pointing to the development and growing wealth of the country. The yearly returns exhibit startling fluctuations. We may jump from £46,246 in one year to £111,629 in the next year; or, again, drop as suddenly from £148,024 to £88,480. These fluctuations were incidental to a system where the Government was dependent from year to year on the supplies voted by the nation, the hereditary revenues being altogether insufficient.

It will be seen that the King's extravagance soon reached its height, namely, in the twelfth year (1337-1338) when the revenue rose to £272,833—that being the time of the seizure of the 30,000 sacks of wool, when, moreover, three lay and as many clerical Subsidies were voted. This was the period of the largesses to the Flemish Princes; the time of Edward's grand doings abroad, when finally he had to escape from his creditors overwhelmed with debt.

The other years when the revenue exceeded £200,000 were the 21st (1346-1347), the period of the siege of Calais; and the years 1369-1370, and 1372-1374, when the war broke out afresh after the final breakdown of the Treaty of Brétigny.

I. Of the several branches of the revenue, most interesting and important are the Customs. Their growth is the special feature

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 394.

of the finance of the reign. For one thing their history shows how helpless the Commons were in the hands of the King ; they might grumble and protest, but they could present no effectual barrier to the Royal will.

For the actual returns our Table II, compiled from the Enrolled Accounts of the Collectors at the several ports, shows totals running say from the £9,400 of 1328 (the £6,997 5s. 8½d. of 1336 being imperfect) to the £113,081 of the year 1354. Taken all together from the beginning to the end of the reign we get an average of £48,000 in round numbers. This we may contrast with the £12,600 average of Edward II ; and the £20,000 of the last years of Edward I. But if we take the returns for the latter half of our present reign by themselves, the yearly average will rise to £68,000. This fruitfulness was due to the heavy 'Subsidies' or surtaxes on wool, granted practically throughout the reign, as we shall see.

The reign began with the dues current at the close of the previous reign, namely the *Magna* or *Antiqua Custuma* of 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool and 300 woolfells, and 13s. 4d. on the "last" of leather, to be taken from natives and aliens alike. The sack of wool contained 26 stone of 14 lb., and the last of leather contained 20 "dickers", or 200 hides in all. Besides the *Antiqua* there was the *Nova* or *Parva Custuma* from aliens only, which ran as follows :

	s.	d.
Sack of wool and 300 wool fells . . . . .	3	4
Last of leather . . . . .	6	8
Wax per quintal (100 lb.) . . . . .	1	0
Cloth of grain, the piece ( <i>pannus</i> ) . . . . .	2	0
„ half grain . . . . .	1	6
„ without grain . . . . .	1	0
Wine, the tun ( <i>tonel</i> <sup>1</sup> ), 1s. with a primeval 4d., making 1s. 4d. in all.		
All other goods 3d. on the £1 value.		

Under this tariff aliens would pay 10s. on the sack of wool and 20s. on the last of leather. It will be remembered that the *Parva Custuma* had been obtained by Edward I from an assembly of foreign merchants in 1303 ; that it had been suspended for a time under Edward II as illegal ; but reimposed with the consent

<sup>1</sup> The *tonel* was two pipes of 100 gallons each.



of Parliament in 1322. At the accession of Edward III it was exacted without a question as hereditary revenue. But the Government were not content with that amount of duty, and they immediately obtained from the merchants a 'Subsidy' of 6s. 8d. both on the sack and the last of leather, from natives and aliens, for the war against the Scots, i. e. the Stanhope Park campaign, the duty only to be levied till Christmas. This concession was made in return for relief from Staple regulations, introduced by Edward I and continued by his son, under which the merchants were obliged to carry their wool to Staple towns at inconvenient distances from the sea.<sup>1</sup>

In 1332 the *Parva Custuma* was formally legalized, to please the Commons; but at the same time, and in return, an Ordinance was issued, with the consent of the magnates, continuing the extra 6s. 8d. on the sack (which probably had never been dropped), and raising the 'Subsidy' on the last of leather to 20s. These impositions were denounced as illegal, but only to be superseded on the 14th May 1333 by a 'grant', again from the merchants, raising the 'Subsidy' on the sack to 10s. with the last still at 20s. This was followed in June by a further concession of 12d. on the £1 value of avoirdupois from aliens, making 1s. 3d. with the *Parva*. Under these arrangements the total charge on natives for wool and leather would be 16s. 8d. and 33s. 4d. respectively, while foreigners, being liable to the *Parva Custuma* in addition to the *Antiqua Custuma*, would have 20s. and 40s. to pay. The new 'Subsidy' of 12d. on general merchandise was the beginning of the dues later known as Tunnage and Poundage, and was granted by the merchants and accepted by the Crown as a substitute for the old *Recta Prisa*, or right of taking one or two tuns of wine from each foreign vessel according to its burden. To go on with the duties on wool and leather, in 1336 we seem to hear in the Collectors' accounts of rates of 40s. and 80s.; but, without doubt, on the 12th November 1337 the King obtained from some assembly or other grants of 40s. the sack and 80s. the last from natives, with 60s. and 120s. from aliens, 'for the expedition of his business', monstrous rates, but as the King had just seized the 30,000 sacks of wool, there would be little for either natives or foreigners to export. In 1340 we

<sup>1</sup> Custom's Accounts.



have a seeming reduction to 33s. 4d. and 66s. 8d., evidently representing 'Subsidies' that with the *Antiqua* would make 40s. and 80s.<sup>1</sup> In July 1346 the magnates at La Hogue vouchsafed a further grant of 2s. on the sack and 6d. on the £1 value of general merchandise, in addition to all existing duties, but only for one year. Parliament protested, of course, but in 1347 we have the extra 2s. on the sack and 6d. on the £1 avoirdupois, with a further 1s. on wine, raising the total duty on the *tonel*, as we are expressly told, to the sum of 3s. 4d., and at that rate the duty on wine appears to have remained pretty well throughout the rest of the reign.<sup>2</sup> In 1348 we again hear of a duty on wool of 40s., with a protest by the Commons against any further grants by the merchants; but in 1349 we have again an extra 2s. on the sack. On the 6th April 1350 we hear of a grant *per Consilium*, i. e. the Privy Council, of an extra Subsidy of 20s. on the sack, in addition to the existing 'Subsidy' of 40s., thus making 60s. on the sack and presumably 120s. on the last.<sup>3</sup> With respect to all these taxes, it may be said that they had either been levied without any proper Parliamentary sanction, or kept on after the term of the grant had expired. At last in 1351 the Commons, tired of protesting and then ultimately giving in, and perhaps thinking that if they granted the duties they might eventually get substantial control of them, agreed to dues of 40s. on wool and 80s. on the last, for two years.<sup>4</sup> These sums must be taken as including the *Antiqua Custuma*. From aliens the rates would be 43s. 4d. and 86s. 8d. In 1353 the duty was renewed by a quasi-Parliament for three years, and for six years in 1355. In 1362 the surtaxes were granted at the reduced rates of 20s. and 40s., but subject always to the *Antiqua* and the *Parva*. In 1368 the subsidies were raised to 38s. 6d. and 80s., with a further enhancement in 1369 to 43s. 4d. and 86s. 8d., making with the *Antiqua* 50s. and 100s. from natives, and with the *Parva*, 53s. 4d. and 106s. 8d. from aliens. These crushing imposts, granted for three years only in the first instance, were maintained to the end of the reign.<sup>5</sup> The extra taxes on wine and merchandise remained at 2s. and 6d. respectively, making 3s. 4d. and 9d. in all, as one of the last entries on the Rolls gives us "*vi*

<sup>1</sup> Customs' Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> So Originalia Roll.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Parl. II. 229.

<sup>5</sup> See Rot. Parl. III. 37.

*den. de Li. et ii sol de dolio ultra parvam custumam*". So far we have seen that wine could be taxed under three heads: (a) the primordial duty of 4*d.*, doubtless of pre-Norman date; (b) the *Parva Custuma* of 1*s.* taken from aliens only; (c) the 'Subsidy' or Tunnage of 1*s.* accepted in lieu of the *Recta Prisa*, and exacted from aliens only. But the Customs' Accounts disclose yet a further petty item of revenue from wine, under the head of Butlerage or the returns of the *Pincerna Regis* or Chief Butler. This was simply the surviving *Recta Prisa*, still taken from natives not being freemen of the City of London or of the Cinque Ports, who enjoyed special exemption, natives in general not being covered by the composition under which aliens paid Tunnage as a commutation for Prisage.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that on our Table the wine accounts disappear in the forty-seventh year (1373). The reason is that all the duties on wine had then been placed under the charge of the *Pincerna Regis*,<sup>2</sup> whose accounts we have not come across.

With respect to our heading of "Cloth", that does not give the returns of the duty on foreign cloth, but that of a tax in the nature of an excise on home-made goods, to balance the duty on raw wool. It would seem that as early as the time of Henry III provisions were in force for the "aulnage",<sup>3</sup> i. e. the measurement of pieces of cloth, to see that they conformed to the required standards in length and breadth, and that the Government charged a penny a cloth for sealing them.<sup>4</sup> In 1353 we find a duty of 4*d.* on cloth without grain (scarlet) or raycloth; 5*d.* on half-grain and 6*d.* on whole grain.

Apart from the export duties on wool, the rates were very moderate. We are told that the *tonel* of best Gascon or Spanish wine containing 200 gallons was worth £5. A tax of 3*s.* 4*d.* on this would be something between 2 and 3 per cent.; the 9*d.* on general merchandise would come to much the same.

In connexion with the Customs' Accounts we get a signal instance of the working of payments by 'assignment' on the Treasury returns of the revenue. In 1342 it was suggested to

<sup>1</sup> See the statement of Thomas Chaucer, Chief Butler; Rot. Parl. III. 646.

<sup>2</sup> So H. Hall, Customs, I. 72. The wine accounts in our Table are catalogued at the Record Office as "Butlerage". The accounts themselves are headed *Parva Custuma*.

<sup>3</sup> French *aulne*, *aune* = English ell or yard.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Parl. II. 230, 231.

the King that it might save trouble to farm out the whole of the Customs to a syndicate of English merchants, and, accordingly, for the years 1343-1345 (18th-19th years) the Customs were farmed out for £50,000 a year, or £100,000 in all. The fact that there were such lumps of Crown money going having transpired, the King was evidently assailed with petitions by all the Court circle, headed by Queen Isabelle, for assignments on these handy funds, with the comic result that of the whole £100,000 just £32,315 reached the Exchequer, to figure either in the Pell Rolls, or the Wardrobe Accounts. But the full amount appears in the Customs' accounts on our Table II. If we divide the intercepted £67,685 between the two years we shall raise them to £109,660 and £109,541 respectively, more in harmony with the years before and after them. The sudden falls in the thirty-ninth and forty-second years may be attributed to the same cause. The equalization of these years alone would bring our average up to nearly £150,000 a year.

II. Next in importance to the Customs are the Subsidies, clerical and lay, voted respectively by Convocation and Parliament. With regard to these, if only from the greater liberality of their grants, the clergy seem entitled to precedence. Our Table V shows twenty-nine Tenths granted either by Popes or by clergy, besides a grant of 5*d.* on the mark (13*s.* 4*d.*), and contributions to the Poll Tax. For the great majority of these the official returns from the L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts "Subsidies" are extant. For the missing return we offer estimates which we hope may be considered sufficient.

If the reader was surprised at the fluctuations shown in the returns of the entire revenue, much more astonished will he be at those exhibited in the yield of the clerical Tenths. Under the assessment of Pope Nicholas of 1291 the sum exigible was fixed as amounting in round numbers to £20,000, £16,000 from Canterbury and £4,000 from York. Subsequently, owing to the ravages of the Scots in the North, the contribution from York was reduced to £2,400, and the whole Tenth to £18,400. In substantial accordance with this assessment the Tenth granted in the first year of the reign is returned at £17,574 9*s.* 7*d.* On the strength of this figure we may allow £9,000 for the King's share of each of the four Crusade Tenths granted by John XXII in 1330. So

again for the grant of the eighth year (1333-1334) we may take £18,000. But two years later we come back to official returns, and we find that a Biennial Tenth yields for the first year £27,024 19s. 1d.; and for the second year £35,465 7s. 1d. The 11th year shows an intermediate sum, but with the 12th year (1337-1338) we rise to £48,948 2s., more than double the legal tax. That was the time when with war in Scotland the King was enlisting allies for war and a Royal Progress abroad; the time when the wool was seized, and the clergy were pressed for sacramental plate.<sup>1</sup> The Tenth of the 13th year from Canterbury alone sank to £36,616 7s. 5d.; but next year, when to liberate the King in danger of being detained abroad a prisoner for debt, the Ninth sheaf fleece and lamb were granted, a double Tenth, paid up at once, produces £70,530 11s. 5d. Passing by the grant of the 16th year, in the 18th year (1343-1344) we have for the operations in Brittany a grant of Triennial Tenths yielding the first year the amazing sum of £99,839 19s. 10d.; the second year £34,393 11s. 1d.; and the third year £37,070 2s. 7d. No sufficient explanation of this extraordinary yield seems forthcoming; but it may to a certain extent be regarded as the price paid by the clergy to the King for his support in resisting Papal usurpations of preferment, and for redress of other Church grievances. In the 20th year (1345-1346) we again have Biennial Tenths producing the first year £50,680 14s. 3d. and £48,111 1s. 1d. the second year. That was in preparation for war with France upon a grander scale, and the Crécy campaign, when the revenues of all benefices held by foreigners were 'borrowed', and Benevolences to the extent of £15,000 exacted from native clergy. For the rest of the reign it will be seen that the contributions from the clergy sink to more legitimate figures. The total amounts to £902,846 4s. 2d.; spread over forty-five years it would represent a yearly contribution of £20,063.

From Parliament (Table VI) Edward received one Twentieth, nineteen Fifteenths and Tenths; and once the Ninth sheaf lamb and fleece; one lump sum of £50,000; Aids to knight his son and marry his daughter; and the Poll Tax. These Fifteenths and Tenths do not exhibit the same exaggerated returns as the clerical Tenths, running from £36,000 to £38,000. Clearly the

<sup>1</sup> See above.



knights and baronage were less amenable to pressure than the clergy. The Aid for marrying the King's daughter at 40s. the knight's fee is returned as yielding £10,632 3s. 2d., and we have allowed the same for the Aid for knighting the son. But under Edward I the Aid at the same rate only yielded £3,000 odd.

The operation of the 30,000 sacks of 1337 may be regarded as a further Subsidy. It turned out a profitable affair, though perhaps not quite so profitable as the King expected it to be. On the Wardrobe Accounts for the two years 12 July 1338-27 May 1340 we can trace pretty clearly what it came to. The total receipts from all sources amount to the amazing sum of £262,731 18s. 3d., of which only £86,076 came from the Treasury. Among the direct receipts we have first an item of 'custom and subsidy on wool, £22,018 17s. 9d.'; then later 'wool, custom, subsidy and sundry, £143,143 2s. 0d.' The first of these items represents an ordinary contribution from the Customs; the second one may be taken to represent the profit on the 30,000 sacks, at any rate perhaps to the extent of £140,000. At £5 the sack the amount would be £150,000. As for the 20,000 sacks of 1338, they were to be paid for out of the Ninths; at any rate no extraordinary receipts appear that we can attribute to them, unless indeed they also came in under our £143,143 2s. The total comes to £817,127 6s. 11d.; spread over the forty-five years it would yield £18,158, just £1,905 below the clerical grants. We may now put the two together.

Clerical Subsidies . . . .	£	20,063
Lay                   ,, . . . .		18,158
		<hr/>
		38,221
		<hr/>

III. For our third branch of the revenue we must take the Old Hereditary Revenues of the Crown that we have followed from the beginning of our work, whether arising from ownership of land, the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, or the profits of the general administration of the country. The list of these, as shown on the Pell Receipt Rolls of the 20th year (1345-1346), includes, besides landed receipts and honours in hand, the produce of fines and amercements, Hanaper in Chan-



cery, Tower Mint and Exchange, and the still continuing iniquities of the impounded revenues of vacant Sees and "Priorities Alien". Paid into the Treasury, the amount shown on our Table III stands at £15,723 17s. 9d. To these must be added the proportion of the same, paid into the Wardrobe as given by us,<sup>1</sup> which appear as averaging £2,873. Putting these together we get £18,596 17s. 9d., say £19,000, as the contribution from this source to the revenue under this head.

Our three heads will figure thus. Average contributions :

	£
Customs (average) . . . . .	48,000
Clerical Subsidies . . . . .	20,063
Lay                   " . . . . .	18,158
Hereditary Revenues . . . . .	19,000
	<hr/>
	105,221
	<hr/>

Here on the face of it we only get £105,221 towards the yearly average £140,000 shown by the Rolls, leaving £34,779, say £35,000 to be made up from extraordinary receipts.

No doubt, besides his ordinary sources of income, Edward had the benefit of considerable windfalls or extraordinary receipts, of which we cannot pretend to give a full account. In 1339 the Duke of Brabant paid £50,000 to secure the marriage of his daughter Margaret to one of the King's sons, an alliance that never took place. Then 100,000 florins (£33,333 6s. 8d.) were received for the wedding of Violet Visconti to Lionel of Antwerp. From David II of Scotland, taken prisoner in 1346 at Neville's Cross, the King drew between 1358 and 1360 £20,000. Under a fresh agreement made in 1365 he drew between the years 1366 and 1369 the sum of £16,000; and again, between 1370 and 1376 £16,666 13s. 4d.; in all £52,666 13s. 4d. From the Duke of Burgundy he obtained the enormous sum of 200,000 *moutons d'or* (£33,333 6s. 8d.) simply as protection money.

Of King John's ransom fixed at 3,000,000 *écus* (£500,000), only the first million, with 198,200 crowns on account of the second million, or £199,700 sterling in all, seems to have been paid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reader may be reminded that our returns of the Wardrobe only give direct receipts, not transfers from the Treasury.

<sup>2</sup> See the last receipt, November 1367; *Foedera*, III. 836.

From the minor Poitiers captives whom Edward bought from his son, considerable sums must have been received; we have 10,000 *écus* (£1,666 13s. 4d.) from the Duke of Bourbon on account of 40,000 *écus* due.<sup>1</sup> We may safely allow £10,000 under this head. But the entry on our Issue Roll (Table IV) of £4,610 paid by the King for Hugh de Chatillon, apparently on speculation, suggests that we might allow a much larger figure. From his unfortunate protégé Duke John of Brittany the King extorted £20,000 under various pretences.<sup>2</sup> We have then—

	£	s.	d.
Duke of Brabant . . . .	50,000	0	0
Violante Visconti . . . .	33,333	6	8
Scots: ransom . . . .	52,666	13	4
Burgundy's ransom . . . .	33,333	6	8
King John's ransom . . . .	199,700	0	0
Minor captives' ransom . . . .	10,000	0	0
Brittany, damages . . . .	20,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	399,033	6	8
	<hr/>		

Spread over the twenty-eight years between 1339 and 1367, when this money came in, it would represent an average contribution towards those years of about £14,251 towards the missing £35,000.

With regard to the ransoms of the Poitiers captives, it appears that they were regarded as the King's *peculium*, won "with his sword and with his bow"; and were, accordingly, in the first instance paid into his Chamber or Privy Purse, the King apparently handing over to the Treasury any money that he did not want, or that was absolutely required for the public service. He took a keen personal interest in money matters, and we hear of his paying in and drawing out bags of money with his own Royal hands.<sup>3</sup>

IV. But, of course, for the ultimate deficiency we must turn to borrowing and loans. On our Table III of the Receipts of the 20th year it will be seen that the loans amount to the huge sum of £58,066 19s. 10d. But that was the year of the Crécy campaign, a time of great inflation. During the first half of the reign the borrowings were chiefly from Italian bankers and merchants,

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, 837.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Pell Rolls; Genesis, II. 92-95.

the King's defalcations leading to general bankruptcy on the Florentine *Bourse*. After the breakdown of the Italians, the King had to prey on his subjects. In 1340 he asserted in Parliament that he owed £300,000. If that statement could be accepted, it would make up the requisite average for the previous years. But we must admit that after adding up the loans for twenty-seven years, taken from all parts of the reign, on the Pells, we only get an average sum of £5,800 a year, two of the years showing no borrowing at all. But, besides these, the reader may depend on it that large sums from loans would be paid into the Wardrobe and the Chamber which we cannot trace.

For a glance at the expenditure of the reign. Our Table IV gives an approximate analysis of the outgoings of the 44th year (1369-1370), which, as shown on the Pells, amounted to £149,261 13s. 2½d. without the Wardrobe. It was a year of constant warfare, both in Aquitaine and Brittany, and it will be seen that the Naval and Military expenditure (£87,866 19s. 11½d.) accounts for more than half the whole sum shown. Next comes the "Household" (£17,105 17s. 11d.) with "Chamber" (£8,566 5s.), together £25,672 2s. 11d., or four times as much as the sum spent on the whole Civil Service. As a detail we may state that the Treasurer's salary amounted to £66 13s. 4d., with an extra £300 as a bonus. Knyvett, Chief Justice of King's Bench, had £40; the Chief Baron £26 13s. 4d., with £20 for Assize duty, &c. The Sundries include the price paid for the purchase of land bought for the King's use at Greenwich and Bermondsey. The money spent on buildings was laid out at Westminster, Eltham, Sheen, Queenborough, Leeds, and Rochester.

From the returns of the poll-tax of 1377 we get a definite basis for an estimate of the population of England. The impost is given as paid by 1,376,442 (1,356,428?) lay folk over fourteen years of age, and by 29,161 beneficed and unbeneficed clergy. The Palatinates of Chester and Durham are not included, but even allowing for that omission, the total population of England and Wales can hardly have exceeded 3,000,000. This is about the estimate that has been formed of the population of England at the time of the Conquest. If that view be correct, the Plagues would have neutralized all the growth caused by three centuries

of orderly government. The population before the First Plague has been estimated at five millions.<sup>1</sup> For the population of London an estimate might be based on the size of Carcassonne, alleged in 1355 to be larger than London 'within the walls'. At the present day Carcassonne has a population of 23,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> Has it increased much since 1355?

Down to the year 1300 the silver penny, the standard coin, contained 22·5 grains Troy of silver, 240 pennies making both 1 lb. of silver and the £1 of account. In that year the penny suffered its first depreciation at the hands of Edward I, being reduced to 22 grains Troy, so that 243 pennies were struck from the lb. of silver. At that point the penny remained till the year 1344, when the standard was lowered, 266 pennies being struck from the lb. of silver; while in 1346 a further reduction of a quarter of a grain in the penny was made, 270 pence going to the lb., the whole a depreciation of rather more than 10 per cent.<sup>3</sup> A recoinage was always a source of profit to the King. For his seigniorage, out of each lb. of silver brought to the Mint he got sixpence, the Master for all expenses got eightpence, and the merchant the remainder.

Since the abortive issue of Henry III in 1257 no gold currency had been struck in England till the years 1343 and 1344, when Edward issued coins to pass for 6s., 3s., and 1s. 6d. respectively. But the new currency did not take, and was recalled, and new pieces issued, to be worth 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., and 1s. 8d. respectively, and to be known as nobles, maille (halfpenny) nobles, and ferling-nobles, but not to be legal tender for more than twenty shillings. These nobles were copied from the Florentine florins, but were distinguished from all existing coins "by the new and singular type of a ship", assumed possibly in commemoration of the victory of Sluys.<sup>4</sup> The new coinage was intended for international transactions and the encouragement of trade.

From the Customs and the ever-changing Staple regulations a pretty complete list of the articles of English exportation in the fourteenth century can be gathered.

For the ten years from 1353 to 1363 the Staple or rather Staples

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm, *Fortnightly Review*, II. 150.

<sup>2</sup> See above, I. 396.

<sup>3</sup> See Ruding, *Annals of Mint*, I. 201, 222; Rogers, *Prices*, I. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Ruding, *sup.* 217, 219.

had been kept at home. On the 1st March in the latter year one general Staple was again set up at Calais.<sup>1</sup> The Commons grumbled, but the Staple was kept at Calais till after the renewal of the war in 1369, when by general consent it was brought home,<sup>2</sup> to be sent back again when there seemed to be some prospect of peace in 1373.<sup>3</sup> The list of Staple commodities included wool, leather, lead, tin, "worsted", cloth, cheese, butter, feathers, woad (*gaula*), honey, furs (*felpariae*), and tallow (*cepum*). It would also seem that Irish frieze (*frysseware*) and Irish wool were imported to a considerable extent from the sister Isle.

<sup>1</sup> Foedera, II. 690.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. II. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 318; A. Jenckes, Staples.



TABLE II. CUSTOMS OF EDWARD III

Exchequer, L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts.      Exch. K. R. Accounts.

Regnal Year.	A. D.	General Customs.			Cloth. (Excise.)			Wine. 'Nova Custuma Vinorum.'			Totals.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	1327	16,082	14	11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	16,082	14	11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
2	1328	8,821	5	7	16	17	9	561	19	0	9,400	2	4
3	1329	12,616	3	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	7	8	736	13	0	13,355	4	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
4	1330	11,867	6	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	9	8	9	606	14	0	12,483	8	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
5	1331	14,285	1	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	23	6	6	229	1	0	14,537	8	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
6	1332	14,229	4	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	8	6	6	—	—	—	14,237	10	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
7	1333	23,945	8	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	15	11	8	155	12	0	24,116	12	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
8	1334	19,088	12	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	12	3	3	619	13	0	19,720	8	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
9	1335	12,598	7	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	390	19	0	12,989	6	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
10	1336	6,997	5	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,997	5	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
11	1337	12,211	15	9	—	—	—	214	12	0	12,426	7	9
12	1338	32,249	5	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	32,249	5	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
13	1339	69,868	10	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	59	13	0	69,928	3	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
14	1340	28,954	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	28,954	2	3
15	1341	23,121	8	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	325	8	0	23,446	16	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
16	1342	10,307	2	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	341	2	0	10,648	4	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
17	1343	11,111	0	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	382	17	0	11,493	17	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
18	1344	50,010	16	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	50,010	16	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
19	1345	50,004	1	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	95	15	0	50,099	16	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
20	1346	24,548	15	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	328	2	0	24,876	17	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
21	1347	3,256	1	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	226	19	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	44	6	0	3,527	6	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
22	1348	819	16	4	285	14	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	265	7	0	1,370	18	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
23	1349	—	—	—	130	15	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	46	18	0	—	—	—
24	1350	2,912	11	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	92	6	10	143	3	0	3,148	0	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
25	1351	43,111	12	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	56	14	11	171	7	0	43,339	14	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
26	1352	54,115	2	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	91	19	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	98	17	0	54,305	18	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
27	1353	42,962	1	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	121	19	4	264	12	0	43,348	12	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
28	1354	112,257	12	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	584	14	6	238	19	0	113,081	5	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
29	1355	85,204	5	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	459	12	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	182	19	0	85,846	16	11
30	1356	77,340	10	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	593	8	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	179	19	0	78,113	18	3
31	1357	95,623	18	2	1,037	12	10	—	—	—	96,661	11	0
32	1358	93,926	12	1	1,061	16	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	205	4	0	95,193	12	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
33	1359	65,159	12	0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	610	0	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	318	2	0	66,087	14	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
34	1360	84,951	14	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	902	5	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	180	18	0	86,034	18	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
35	1361	66,303	1	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	607	18	5	143	15	0	67,054	14	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
36	1362	108,734	17	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	741	4	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	285	12	0	109,761	13	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
37	1363	42,820	18	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	600	17	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	43,421	16	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
38	1364	37,889	8	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	370	8	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	149	6	0	38,409	3	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
39	1365	103,327	11	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	740	0	0	145	8	0	104,212	19	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
40	1366	47,916	14	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	690	16	8	—	—	—	48,607	11	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
41	1367	64,250	1	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	800	16	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	115	1	0	65,165	18	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
42	1368	63,623	11	4	593	5	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	117	16	0	64,334	12	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
43	1369	63,795	1	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	722	3	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	—	—	64,517	4	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
44	1370	48,430	5	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	514	4	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	48,944	10	3
45	1371	73,249	5	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	578	17	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	82	3	0	73,910	6	7 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
46	1372	81,222	6	7	371	12	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	600	3	0	82,194	1	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
47	1373	70,487	19	6	97	10	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	70,585	10	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
48	1374	61,879	15	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	61,879	15	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
49	1375	72,023	15	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	—	—	—	72,023	15	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
50	1376	55,652	1	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	164	3	3	—	—	—	55,816	5	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
51	1377	21,539	5	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	47	16	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	—	—	21,587	2	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>

<sup>1</sup> From the Pell Receipt Roll.

RECEIPTS PER TREASURY (Pell & Auditor's Rolls). RECEIPTS PER WARDROBE (L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Wardrobe & Household).

Regnal Year.	A. D.	Term.	Roll.	Terminal Totals.			Yearly Totals.			Wardrobe.			Grand Totals.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	1326	Mich.	Pell 246	2,706	19	5½									
—	1327	Easter	" 257	11,917	18	0	14,624	17	5½	Wanting					
2	—	Mich.	" 259	16,984	10	4½									
—	1328	Easter	Aud. 114	17,183	7	11½	34,167	18	4	Wanting					
3	—	Mich.	Pell 261	17,541	0	1½									
—	1329	Easter	" 260	21,249	17	5	38,790	17	6½	833	13	10	39,624	11	4½
4	—	Mich.	" 264	15,058	16	3									
—	1330	Easter	" 263	17,944	1	5	33,002	17	8	4,365	19	0	37,368	16	8
5	—	Mich.	Aud. 123	16,128	11	3									
—	1331	Easter	Pell 265	17,102	11	6½	33,231	2	9½	4,365	19	0	37,597	1	9½
6	—	Mich.	" 268	59,869	0	11									
—	1332	Easter	" 267	10,682	10	3½	70,551	11	2½	2,068	13	1½	72,620	4	4
7	—	Mich.	" 270	26,025	1	3½									
—	1333	Easter	" 269	27,975	19	11½	54,001	1	3	Wanting					
8	—	Mich.	" 273 <sup>b</sup>	28,527	14	3									
—	1334	Easter	" 272	12,818	9	0½	41,346	3	3½	4,900	1	0	46,246	4	3½
9	—	Mich.	" 275	57,761	14	3									
—	1335	Easter	" 274	52,267	19	10½	110,029	14	1½	(a) 1,600	0	0	111,629	14	1½
10	—	Mich.	" 277	43,477	19	7½									
—	1336	Easter	Aud. 144	73,492	4	9½	116,970	4	5	(a) 1,600	0	0	118,570	4	5
11	—	Mich.	Pell 281	40,228	1	3½									
—	1337	Easter	" 280	137,813	13	7½	178,041	14	11	(a) 1,600	0	0	179,641	14	11
12	—	Mich.	" 288	129,810	15	9½									
—	1338	Easter	" 282 <sup>b</sup>	137,914	13	7½	267,725	9	5	5,107	19	4	272,833	8	9
13	—	Mich.	Aud. 155	36,638	19	2½									
—	1339	Easter	Pell 283	42,082	7	3	78,721	6	5½	(b) 88,317	16	10½	167,039	3	4
14	—	Mich.	Aud. 160	61,275	9	5									
—	1340	Easter	" 158	7,968	5	6½	69,243	14	11½	(b) 88,317	16	10½	157,561	11	10
15	—	Mich.	" 162	7,537	13	8									
—	1341	Easter	Pell 285	11,041	0	2½	18,578	13	10½	17,062	3	4	35,640	17	2½
16	—	Mich.	" 288	129,810	15	9½									
—	1342	Easter	" 287	60,618	16	3½	190,429	12	1	(a) 2,912	0	0	193,341	12	1
17	—	Mich.	" 290	94,115	11	5									
—	1343	Easter	" 289	31,753	8	4	125,868	19	9	(a) 2,912	0	0	128,780	19	9
18	—	Mich.	" 291	46,722	1	11									
—	1344	Easter	Aud. 172	26,184	7	2½	72,906	9	1½	(a) 2,912	0	0	75,818	9	1½
19	—	Mich.	" 174	50,043	4	7½									
—	1345	Easter	Pell 292	22,782	16	10	72,826	1	5½	(a) 2,873	0	0	75,699	1	5½
20	—	Mich.	" 294	103,231	3	9									
—	1346	Easter	" 293	50,908	13	7	154,139	17	4	(a) 2,873	0	0	157,012	17	4
21	—	Mich.	" 297	88,152	12	5									
—	1347	Easter	" 295	137,960	13	0	226,113	5	5	(a) 2,873	0	0	228,986	5	5
22	—	Mich.	Aud. 178	66,825	17	8									
—	1348	Easter	Pell 298	59,263	11	6½	126,089	9	2½	(b) 500	0	0	126,589	9	2½
23	—	Mich.	" 302	51,612	12	0									
—	1349	Easter	" 300	47,865	15	5½	99,478	7	5½	(b) 500	0	0	99,978	7	5½
24	—	Mich.	Aud. 181	67,979	19	0½									
—	1350	Easter	Pell 304	64,777	13	8	132,757	12	8½	263	0	0	133,020	12	8½
25	—	Mich.	" 307	69,916	2	11									
—	1351	Easter	" 306	87,521	11	10½	157,437	14	9½	(f) 2,321	0	0	159,758	14	9½
26	—	Mich.	" 309	53,286	18	5½									
—	1352	Easter	" 308	68,081	15	4½	121,368	13	10	(f) 2,321	0	0	123,689	13	10
27	—	Mich.	" 311	52,067	3	9									
—	1353	Easter	" 310	54,872	13	11½	106,939	17	8½	(f) 2,321	0	0	109,260	17	8½

RECEIPTS PER TREASURY  
(Pell & Auditor's Rolls).

 RECEIPTS PER WARDROBE  
(L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts,  
Wardrobe & Household).

A. D.	Term.	Roll.	Terminal Totals.			Yearly Totals.			Wardrobe.			Grand Totals.			
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
—	Mich.	Pell 314	112,054	0	0	170,820	1	6½	4,381	11	2	175,201	12	8½	
1354	Easter	" 313	58,766	1	6½										
—	Mich.	" 316	114,129	1	7										
1355	Easter	" 315	63,927	13	3	178,056	14	10	(a)	502	0	0	178,558	14	10
—	Mich.	" 319	70,294	6	4										
1356	Easter	" 317	59,845	15	5½										
—	Mich. {	Pell 321 & Aud. 203	63,151	19	1	157,364	17	2½	(a)	502	0	0	157,866	17	2½
1357	Easter	" 199	94,212	18	1½										
—	Mich.	Pell 323	95,507	11	6										
1358	Easter	" 322	70,942	9	11	166,450	1	5	4,010	0	9	170,460	2	2	
—	Mich.	" 325	62,131	10	2										
1359	Easter	" 324	111,767	19	10										
—	Mich.	" 327	39,912	8	6½	173,899	10	0	20,743	16	0¾	194,643	6	0¾	
1360	Easter	" 326	34,637	6	8										
—	Mich. {	Pell 329 & Aud. 215	115,562	11	8										
1361	Easter	Pell 328	57,368	9	3	172,931	0	11	7,493	7	0½	180,424	7	11½	
—	Mich.	" 331	68,281	11	7½										
1362	Easter	" 330	85,395	10	10										
—	Mich.	" 335	5,686	17	11	59,995	0	4½	7,612	4	5½	67,607	4	10	
1363	Easter	" 332	54,308	2	5½										
—	Mich.	" 339	48,262	1	8½										
1364	Easter	" 336	85,564	6	0½	133,826	7	9	5,709	10	0	139,535	17	9	
—	Mich.	" 342	37,315	15	7										
1365	Easter	" 340	40,753	8	6										
—	Mich.	" 348	71,549	9	3½	126,228	6	11	10,688	17	6½	136,917	4	5½	
1366	Easter	" 346	54,678	17	7½										
—	Mich.	" 351	62,429	13	9										
1367	Easter	" 349	73,266	1	0½	135,695	14	9½	12,328	18	4½	148,024	13	2	
—	Mich.	" 356	29,875	1	4										
1368	Easter	" 353	50,830	4	2½										
—	Mich. {	Pell 359 & 278	94,379	10	4	247,222	17	8½	5,903	3	10½	253,126	1	7	
1369	Easter	" 357	152,843	7	4½										
—	Mich.	" 364	111,632	19	0½										
1370	Easter	" 362	112,991	5	9	224,624	4	9½	(b)	1,000	0	0	225,624	4	9½
—	Mich.	" 382	66,147	12	8										
1371	Easter	" 365	38,911	14	1½										
—	Mich.	" 369	80,460	1	3	105,059	6	9½	(b)	1,000	0	0	106,059	6	9½
1372	Easter	" 370	135,053	19	7½										
—	Mich.	" 374	91,279	4	9										
1373	Easter	" 372	109,011	12	0½	215,514	0	10½	3,245	6	10	218,759	7	8½	
—	Mich.	" 378	104,942	7	2½										
1374	Easter	" 375	112,421	8	3½										
—	Mich.	" 381	98,676	6	5½	217,363	15	6	4,962	0	0	222,325	15	6	
1375	Easter	" 380	48,909	16	8										
—	Mich.	" 384	55,863	9	3½										
1376	Easter	" 383	51,281	9	9	147,586	3	1½	5,185	6	1½	152,771	9	3	
—	Mich.	" 389	61,996	12	11½										
1377	Easter	" 386	35,523	12	11½										

(a) Proportionate sum of three lumped years, and again of six lumped years.

(b) Proportionate sum of two lumped years.

(f) Proportionate sum of three lumped years.

TABLE III. ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS OF THE FINANCIAL YEAR,  
20 EDW. III, 1 OCTOBER 1345—20 SEPTEMBER 1346

(Year of Crécy campaign.)

From Pell Receipt Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas, 20 Edw. III.

	£	s.	d.
Old Crown Revenues; County and Burgh farms, quit rents; Forest receipts; Wardships, Marriages, escheats, &c., &c.	7,360	0	7
Fines . . . . .	1,047	1	4
Vacant sees and abbeys . . . . .	917	18	9
Customs . . . . .	24,548	15	1½
Receipts of Hanaper Office in Chancery . . . . .	764	18	3½
Mint and Exchange Offices at Tower . . . . .	1,452	0	7½
Fifteenths and Tenths from laity . . . . .	28,682	9	7
Tenths from clergy . . . . .	20,229	1	3½
'Priories Alien' . . . . .	4,181	18	2
Arrears of wool grants from 12th and 15th years . . . . .	1,645	14	8
Sundries (mostly advances repaid, <i>prestita</i> , &c.) . . . . .	5,242	19	1
Loans :			
Ultimately repaid . . . . .	£ 42,485	2	6
Not repaid . . . . .	15,581	17	4
		58,066	19 10
		154,139	17 4

TABLE IV. ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE FINANCIAL  
YEAR, 44 EDW. III, 1 OCTOBER 1369—22 SEPTEMBER 1370

From the Pell Issue Rolls as printed by Mr. Devon.

	£	s.	d.
Household . . . . .	17,105	17	11
Privy Purse (Chamber) . . . . .	8,566	5	0
Civil Service . . . . .	4,371	14	10
Buildings and works . . . . .	2,373	13	11
Naval and Military (including fortifications of Calais) . . . . .	£ 87,866	19	11½
Pensions and gifts . . . . .	7,230	13	10
Loans repaid . . . . .	12,249	4	10½
<i>Praestita</i> , advances (to be repaid) . . . . .	1,874	3	1
Queen Philippa's debts . . . . .	1,385	11	1
Hugh de Chatillon, prisoner bought . . . . .	4,610	0	0
Lions and leopards at the Tower . . . . .	74	16	10
Sundries . . . . .	1,552	11	10½
	149,261	13	2½

TABLE V. CLERICAL SUBSIDIES OF EDWARD III

From L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies".

A. D.	Regnal Year.		£	s.	d.
1326-1327	1	Tenths . . . . .	17,574	9	7
1329-1330	4	Crusade Tenths for four years, half to Pope and half to King :			
		Say first year . . . . .	9,000	0	0
		" second year . . . . .	9,000	0	0
		" third year . . . . .	9,000	0	0
		" fourth year . . . . .	9,000	0	0
1333-1334	8	Tenths, say . . . . .	18,000	0	0
1335-1336	10	Double Tenths, first grant . . . . .	27,024	19	1
		" second grant . . . . .	35,465	7	1
1336-1337	11	Tenths . . . . .	32,160	13	2
1337-1338	12	Tenths . . . . .	48,948	2	0
1338-1339	13	Tenths (Canterbury only) . . . . .	36,616	7	5
1339-1340	14	Single Tenths Canterbury, not double, Tenths York (lump sum) . . . . .	70,530	11	5
1341-1342	16	Tenths for war overseas . . . . .	36,042	13	3
		Five pence on mark (13s. 4d.) for war against Scots . . . . .	4,728	10	6
1343-1344	18	Triennial Tenths, first year . . . . .	99,839	19	10
		" second year . . . . .	34,393	11	1
		" third year . . . . .	37,070	2	7
1345-1346	20	Biennial Tenths, first year . . . . .	50,680	14	3
		" second year . . . . .	48,111	1	1
1350-1351	25	Biennial Tenths, first year . . . . .	17,423	9	4
		" second year . . . . .	46,018	18	5
1355-1356	30	Biennial Tenths, first year . . . . .	23,014	3	10
		" second year, say . . . . .	22,000	0	0
1359-1360	34	Tenths, say . . . . .	22,000	0	0
1368-1369	43	Triennial Tenths (returns defective), say . . . . .	65,000	0	0
1370-1371	45	Triennial Tenths, first year . . . . .	17,034	1	1
		" second year . . . . .	15,328	6	6
		" third year . . . . .	23,540	2	8
1373-1374	48	Tenth, say . . . . .	18,000	0	0
		Total . . . . .	902,846	4	2



TABLE VI. LAY SUBSIDIES OF EDWARD III

A. D.	Regnal Year.		£	s.	d.
1326-1327	1	Twentieth from Counties and Boroughs, say . . . . .	41,000	0	0
1331-1332	6	Fifteenth and Tenth . . . . .	38,170	0	0
1333-1334	8	Same . . . . .	38,170	0	0
1335-1336	10	Double Fifteenth and Tenth : First grant . . . . .	33,748	1	9
		Second grant . . . . .	34,258	8	0
1336-1337	11	Fifteenth and Tenth . . . . .	34,630	0	6
1339-1340	14	Grant of Ninth Sheaf, Lamb, and Fleece	38,274	18	2
1343-1344	18	Biennial Fifteenths and Tenths : First year . . . . .	28,707	16	0
		Second year . . . . .	7,848	10	7
1345-1346	20	Same again : First year . . . . .	37,479	18	10
		Second year . . . . .	36,241	7	2
—	—	Aid for knighting King's son, say .	10,600	0	0
1347-1348	22	Fifteenths and Tenths, Triennial : First year . . . . .	34,455	3	10
		Second year . . . . .	32,021	19	1
		Third year . . . . .	32,733	2	11
—	—	Aid for marrying king's daughter	10,632	3	2
1351-1352	26	Fifteenths and Tenths, Triennial, Lump Sum (say £36,500 a year) . . . . .	111,048	14	3
1356-1357	31	Fifteenth and Tenth . . . . .	36,500	0	0
1370-1371	45	General Subsidy . . . . .	50,000	0	0
1372-1373	47	Fifteenth and Tenth, say . . . . .	36,000	0	0
1373-1374	48	Same Biennial, say . . . . .	72,000	0	0
1376-1377	51	Poll Tax, Clerical and Lay . . . . .	22,607	2	8
Total . . . . .			817,127	6	11

## RICHARD II "OF BORDEAUX"

*Born 6th January 1367; began to reign 21st June 1377; deposed 30th September 1399*

### I RICHARD II

1377-1378. The reign of Edward II had been held to begin on the day following the death of his predecessor. That of Richard II was made to begin at the death of Edward III, without any interval whatever, the hereditary view of the Royal succession having gained ground. No formal proceedings could be taken in hand on that day; but on the next, the 22nd June, Richard was brought to Sheen, and made to exercise his first official act by taking the Great Seal into his own hands, and then re-delivering it by the hands of John of Gaunt to Nicholas Bonde as Keeper, the Chancellor, Adam of Houghton, Bishop of St. David's, being abroad on business. Orders were issued for the due custody of Calais, the truce with France being about to expire. Thomas of Woodstock, the King's youngest uncle, was designated Earl of Buckingham and confirmed in the office of Constable that he held in right of his wife, Eleanor Bohun. A deputation from the Londoners had already waited on young Richard, to assure him that he was the only King that they could recognize, a declaration that implied a possibility of doubt as to the succession. In return, he sent them a message assuring them of his goodwill, and offering to mediate between them and the Duke of Lancaster. The citizens, of course, accepted the offer, while protesting that they owed no amends to the Duke. John, who was aware that his power had fallen with his father's death, gladly closed with the proposal. A like pacification was effected between the Duke and William of Wykeham, who received the fullest 'pardon'. Even more promptly Peter de la Mare had been set at liberty. Thus the young reign seemed to be started on a hopeful path, and so, but for wilful wrongheadedness and bad faith in high quarters, it might have fared on to the end.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis of Lancaster, II. 104, 105.

The funeral of the late King was the next thing to be taken in hand. On the 5th July the remains were borne to their resting-place in Westminster Abbey. The three surviving sons of the deceased, John, Edmund, and Thomas, his son-in-law the Duke of Brittany, and his great-grandson, Edmund Earl of March, were the chief mourners.

But the chroniclers have little to tell of the obsequies; all thoughts were engrossed with the coming coronation of which we have unusually full reports. The day selected, the 16th July, fell on a Thursday. Coronations and other great functions were held preferentially on Sundays. Doubtless the 16th had been chosen as being the Eve of St. Kenelm, the boy-King. The proceedings began with the usual state ride from the Tower; all being robed in white in honour of the child-King, described for his youthful looks as a very 'second Absalom'.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the service in the Abbey, we must point out that the ceremonial was modified, and that instead of appealing to the people for their acceptance of the new King, the Archbishop (Simon of Sudbury) began by administering the coronation oath, *afterwards* turning to the people, and asking them 'if they would have this man as their King and liege lord'. Thus the appeal to the people lost its meaning, by being made after the King had been sworn in; while the popular response was turned into a mere promise of allegiance, as at the present day.

The service ended, the boy-King was carried back by his old tutor Simon Burley to the Palace for refreshment and a short interval of very necessary rest,<sup>2</sup> to be brought out again for the State Banquet in the Hall. Four earls were created and nine knights dubbed. Thomas of Woodstock was made Earl of Buckingham; Henry Percy became Earl of Northumberland; John Mowbray of Axholm Earl of Nottingham, and Guichard d'Angle, the King's former governor, Earl of Huntingdon. At Richard's side, holding the great Sword of State, stood a boy a few months older than himself, his future supplanter, Henry of Bolingbroke, styled by courtesy Earl of Derby. The crowd of spectators was such that the High Steward, Constable and

<sup>1</sup> Higden, Polychr. IX. 222. One of the King's consecrated slippers fell off as he was being carried and was lost; Urban VI sent a fresh pair.

<sup>2</sup> "*Paulisper quievit quia debilis fuerat prae labore.*"

Marshal had to ride up and down the Hall on horseback, to keep order and make passage-way for the serving-men.<sup>1</sup>

On the day after the coronation a Grand Council was held, to choose a standing Council 'to assist the Chancellor and Treasurer'. Twelve men were appointed: two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights bachelors. "This Council was not exactly a Council of Regency: the King remained under his mother's care, and she, without any formal title, acted as guardian and chief of the court." The Earl of March, as father of the heir presumptive, found a place on the Council, but the King's uncles were excluded. In other respects the list "bears evidence of a compromise"; the bishops were Courtenay of London, the opponent of John of Gaunt, and Ralph Erghum of Salisbury,<sup>2</sup> his ally: the earls, March and Arundel, belonged to opposite parties; and so probably did Latimer and Cobham. The bannerets were Roger Beauchamp and Richard Stafford; the knights John Knyvett, Ralph Ferrers, John Devereux, and Hugh Segrave. "Latimer, Beauchamp and Knyvett had been executors of the late King." But the Duke found his position at Court too much altered to be comfortable; on being asked to surrender Hertford Castle he retired to Kenilworth. Percy at the same time resigned the Marshal's Staff: it was given to John FitzAlan of Arundel, the brother of the Earl.

The Council had no easy task before them. The truce with France having expired on the 24th June, five days later the French crossed the Channel and burned Rye. The Isle of Wight was overrun and put to the ransom; Winchelsea was saved by the promptitude of the Abbot of Battle, but Hastings and Rottingdean were sacked, and the Prior of Lewes carried off. From June to September Jean de Vienne and Ferrand Sanchez, Admirals of France and Castile, ruled the Channel, finally entering the Thames and burning Gravesend. The whole country was thrown into a state of alarm at the prospect of invasion.

Again, in August a petty war broke out on the Border. Dunbar,

<sup>1</sup> See the record in Foedera, IV. 9; and the full and graphic account preserved by the Chron. Angl. 156-162 and Walsingham, I. 332-339, evidently the account of an eyewitness; Stubbs.

<sup>2</sup> Consecrated 9th December 1375; Reg. Sacr.

the Scots Earl of March, surrounded the village of Roxburgh (still in English hands) by night, during a fair, and massacred all that fell into his hands, in revenge for the murder of an esquire of his retinue. Reprisals followed. Henry Percy, the new Earl of Northumberland, ravaged Roxburghshire and Berwickshire ; while the Berwickshire laird John of Gordon made a dash across the Border, defeated John of Littleburn and carried off Thomas Musgrave.<sup>1</sup>

Across the Channel the Duke of Burgundy was threatening Calais ; while another army under the Duke of Anjou invaded Aquitaine. "The collapse of the military power of England seemed complete."<sup>2</sup>

On the 13th October a session of Parliament, the first of the reign, met at Westminster. The situation was gloomy all round. Money was urgently needed, if only for home defence, the proceeds of the poll-tax having proved disappointing, and it soon became apparent that the question would be whether the policy of the Good Parliament, or that of John of Gaunt's reactionary Parliament, would prevail.

Business was opened in the Painted Chamber, in the presence of the young King, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon of Sudbury. He assured the lieges that the country had never been in greater straits, and begged for counsel and advice. Another state sitting was held next day, again in the King's presence ; while for the third time the piteous tale was rehearsed to the Commons in private, after they had retired to the Chapter House. The Commons proceeded to take Peter de la Mare for their Speaker, and then three petitions were laid before the King and Lords. The first prayed for the remodelling of the Council of Regency ; another for the nomination in Parliament of the persons to be entrusted with the charge of the King's person ; and the third for some proper security that measures proposed in Parliament should not be altered or repealed without the consent of Parliament. The last request was freely granted. To the

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish ransom was also in arrear ; at Midsummer they had only tendered a payment on account, claiming to set off seizure of goods belonging to the great Scottish financier, John Mercer of Perth ; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, II. xlii. 283. Mercer's fortune has come down to the hands of his present representative in the female line, the Marquis of Lansdowne.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 109-111.



second the King was made to agree, with the old nullifying proviso that the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal should not be interfered with in the discharge of their duties.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the control of the Great Seal was the whole matter at issue. To the first petition, which involved the question of Ministerial responsibility to Parliament, the Lords demurred, as trenching too much on the Royal prerogative; but they undertook that the expenses of the Household should be kept within bounds, and, if possible, defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown. Satisfied with these answers, the Commons responded by the liberal grant of a double Subsidy on the established assessment, with a renewal for three years of the Subsidies on leather and wool, namely, 43s. 4d. the sack and 86s. 8d. the last. But it was stipulated that the proceeds, both of these grants and of the Tenths that the clergy were preparing to grant in Convocation, should be paid to special treasurers to be named by the King. This was agreed to, and William Walworth and John Philpot were appointed. Moreover, the Council was remodelled by removing the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Latimer and Cobham, Roger Beauchamp, John Knyvett, and Ralph Ferrers; and by substituting the Bishop of Carlisle (Thomas Appleby), the Earl of Stafford, and Henry le Scrope. This new Council of nine was to stand for a year, a new Council to be appointed at the end of that time. But the King was also brought to agree, in answer to other petitions, that during his minority the Chancellor, Treasurer, and other officers of state should be chosen by Parliament, and that no one who had been attainted during the late reign should be named of the Council. This of course "was a clear victory for the Commons".<sup>2</sup>

The clergy showed themselves as liberal as the laity: Convocations of the two Provinces were summoned in November and December. Canterbury at once agreed to pay a double Tenth by the 1st March 1378: the Northern assembly, after some hesitation, agreed to give one Tenth by the 3rd May 1378, and another by instalments by the 25th March 1379.

<sup>1</sup> "Busoignes que touchent leur offices."

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 16. The tone of the Government was conciliatory throughout, and a general statute of fifteen sections was passed for securing the due administration of the law, &c.; 1 Rich. II, Statutes, II. 1. For a detailed account of the proceedings of the session, see M. Wallon's Richard II, I. 13, &c.

The Ministers had declared in Parliament that the King had already involved himself in debt to the amount of £15,000 for preparation of war.<sup>1</sup> The money had probably been expended on the equipment of a force which was placed under the command of the Earl of Buckingham and the Duke of Brittany. Early in November they sailed to attack a Spanish fleet at Sluys. On the night of the 11th a violent storm came on, and the English fleet was driven home in utter discomfiture.<sup>2</sup>

The military operations of the year, with vast expenditure, proved utterly futile and disappointing. In fact the country was too much distracted by cross-cleavages in politics to be able to pursue a consistent policy, either of peace or war. The Princess of Wales and the Commons were jealous of John of Gaunt; but the Princess supported Wycliffe, who was in alliance with the Duke. The Londoners worshipped Wycliffe, while hating Lancaster; and the clergy detested both Wycliffe and the Duke. But the force of circumstances still made John the "central figure" on the English stage. Thus he obtained leave to muster forces for an expedition to utilize the funds provided by the liberality of Parliament, to repair the losses of the previous autumn. Bordeaux should have been his objective, but it turned out that he contemplated operations in Brittany, where in the present temper of the Bretons nothing could be accomplished. In February men were raised. The Duke, in April, himself began drawing pay; but he did not sail till June. Meanwhile the men enlisted in the winter had spent their wages, and were living at free quarters in Hampshire. Eventually Lancaster landed in Brittany without opposition, and proceeded to lay siege to St. Malo. Well provided with artillery, he could bombard the walls; but he put his chief trust in mining operations. The works were nearly completed, when, in August, the garrison, taking advantage of insufficient watch kept by the Earl of Arundel, sallied by night and wrecked the mine. The siege was then abandoned, and Lancaster sailed home more discredited and unpopular than ever. As a set-off, however, to

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 7. On the 15th October orders were given for raising small home loans for a year; Foedera, IV. 22. Before that, £5,000 had been borrowed from the City of London on a pledge of crown jewels and plate Riley, Memorials, 411; repaid 19 March 1378, Foedera, IV. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 112-115.

the failures of the year, Cherbourg had been placed, very unexpectedly, in the hands of the English. The King of Navarre, Charles the Bad, to save his last footing north of the Loire, had made over Cherbourg, the great Cotentin harbour, for three years, in consideration of a sum of money and military support against Enrique of Castile.<sup>1</sup>

For the returns of the revenue henceforward we have only to look to the Pell Rolls, the Wardrobe Accounts, with which we have been troubled since the time of Henry III, being now entirely supplied by drafts from the Treasury, a clear administrative reform, as bringing all returns more completely under the survey of the Treasurer. But during the late reign the sums passed through the Wardrobe had been moderate, as compared with those passed through it under Edward I and Edward II.

For the year's revenue we get from the double lay Fifteenth and Tenth £73,989 15s. 6d. With respect to the clerical Tenths the official returns from Canterbury are somewhat confused; and those from York are wanting. From Canterbury, however, we seem to get £63,067 17s. 3d. Allowing £4,800 for the contribution from the Northern Province, we should get in round numbers £67,867 for the clerical Subsidy. Adding the lay, £73,989 15s. 6d., the grand total comes to £141,856. As a matter of fact, the Pell Issue and Receipt Rolls of the year show upwards of £130,000 paid in from Walworth and Philpot. With regard to the large return from the Canterbury Tenths, reference to our Tables of the late reign will show that the surprising yield was not unprecedented. It would seem that the grant of a Tenth meant not merely the grant of a Tenth on the legal assessment, but of a Tenth on some novel and unrecorded assessment. Such were the mysteries of medieval finance.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	211,833	0	4

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 115-121.

## 2 RICHARD II

1378-1379. The Autumn Parliament of 1378 had to be held at Gloucester, in consequence of a tragic incident resented as an outrage both by the clergy and the citizens of London. Robert Hawley and John Shakell, two esquires who had seen a great deal of service in the wars, had captured the Count of Denia, a Spanish magnate, at the battle of Najera. The Count was allowed to go home on leaving his eldest son Alphonso as a hostage. Years went by, but no ransom came. At last in August 1377 the money was declared to be ready. The English government then made efforts to get possession of the hostage, who was being kept in secret. Hawley and Shakell were ordered to produce their captive in Parliament; and when they refused to do so they were sent to the Tower. Hawley and Shakell apparently lay in the Tower for several months; at last they found an opportunity of escaping, and took sanctuary at Westminster. Alan Boxhill, the Constable of the Tower, followed them in force. Shakell allowed himself to be recaptured; Hawley resisted, and was killed in the choir of the Abbey during the celebration of High Mass; one of the attendants of the Church shared his fate.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th of October the Gloucester Parliament was opened. A stormy session ensued, which the Government were quite unable to control. The Commons refused to give any Subsidy, on the score of the extraordinary grants of the previous year; and they called for an inspection of accounts. Ultimately they agreed to a prolongation of the wool duties at the existing rates, with a "novel increase" of 13s. 4d. on the sack of wool and 240 wool-fells, and 26s. 8d. on the last of leather; but only to Easter 1380. The surtax of 6d. on the £1 of general merchandise was also prolonged to Michaelmas 1379.

Southampton was established<sup>2</sup> as the Staple for the Mediterranean trade, namely with Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, and Aragon,

<sup>1</sup> 11th August. Shakell remained in the Tower till 1379, when he came to terms with the Government, and produced his hostage in the person of the supposed servant who had been allowed to attend him in prison. The fidelity to his parole of young Alphonso, who had acted his part throughout, created quite a sensation; Chron. Angl. 241; Genesis, II. 221, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 123-125.

Calais being maintained as the Staple for the northern and eastern trade; while native worsteds were relieved of all Staple regulations.

But the Gloucester Parliament was not solely concerned with domestic affairs. It was also called upon to take cognizance of an event pregnant with consequences for the future of the Papacy and Europe, namely, the beginning of the Great Schism of the West, and the end of the "Babylonish Captivity". At the death of Gregory VI (27-28 March 1378) the Romans at once raised their voices for a Roman, or at all events an Italian Pope. On Easter Day (18 April 1378) Bartolomeo Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man of learning and holy life, was duly crowned by the style of Urban VI. The French Cardinals, finding that Urban proposed to establish himself at Rome, held a counter-conclave, and elected Robert of Geneva, Bishop of Cambrai, a soldier and a politician, a patron of Free Lances, and a man quite fitted to be a leader of Free Lances. He took the style of Clement VII and became the Pope of Avignon and France.

Envoys from both parties attended the Gloucester Parliament. As between a French Pope and a Roman Pope the English could have little hesitation in making their choice. The Estates agreed that Urban VI was the duly elected Pope, to be accepted and obeyed.<sup>1</sup>

The refusal of an immediate supply was the more annoying because affairs in France seemed to be taking a more hopeful turn; Charles V, that cool "sage" man, had at last made a wrong move. Unable to appreciate the force of local sentiment, he had summoned Duke John de Montfort to Paris, and when he failed to appear, declared Brittany forfeit and reannexed to the Crown of France. The Bretons rose as one man; the partisans of the House of Blois being just as indignant as those of the House of Montfort.

To meet the situation thus created a fresh Parliament was summoned for the 25th April 1379.

Richard le Scrope the Chancellor explained the urgency of the case. The sums borrowed from individuals amounted to nearly £14,000; while the entire receipts from the Customs granted in the autumn did not exceed £4,000. By the Customs 'granted'

<sup>1</sup> Creighton, *Papacy*, I. 61; *Genesis*, II. 126-128,



in the autumn we take it that Scrope meant the "novel increase" of 13s. 4d. But even so his statement was grossly unfair and misleading. The receipts for the past half-year (Michaelmas, 2 Richard II) had exceeded £66,000, of which over £28,000 had been paid to Walworth and Philpot. Continuing, however, the Chancellor begged the lieges to make adequate provision for the wants of the realm, offering to produce the accounts since the time of the last Parliament. But the Commons were not content with this; they went further, and obtained the appointment of a committee of Lords to make a thorough investigation of the state of the national finances, and to ascertain the probable receipts and expenditure up to Michaelmas. Even the late King's personal estate was to be made available. The urgency of the case, however, was found to be such that an immediate grant could not be withheld. Unfortunately, the expedient adopted was again that of a poll-tax. But, to lessen the unpopularity of the measure, a graduated scale of payments was arranged, beginning with £6 13s. 4d. as the contribution of an archbishop or a duke, and ending with 4d. for persons over sixteen years of age in the humblest class.<sup>1</sup> The duty of 6d. on the £1 of general merchandise and the "novel increase" of 13s. 4d. on wool granted by the last Parliament were repealed; but the other duties on wool and leather were prolonged to Michaelmas 1380. The arrangements received the sanction of the Convocations of both Provinces, which met during the sitting of Parliament.

Means being thus provided, the Government hoped to be able to operate with effect. Arrangements were made for sending an army into Brittany, where the Bretons were rallying enthusiastically round the ducal flag. In July a treaty was signed in London, by which the English government undertook to place at the Duke's disposal a force of 2,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. The mustering of the force was committed to John FitzAlan of Arundel, Marshal of England. For lack of funds the numbers had to be reduced, but even so, December came before FitzAlan could put to sea. Loosing from Plymouth he was caught by a gale, driven out into the Atlantic, and finally

<sup>1</sup> 27th May; Rot. Parlt. III. 57. The mayor of London was rated as an earl at £4. The aldermen of London and the mayors of provincial cities paid £2, like barons.

wrecked on an island on the Irish coast, FitzAlan himself being drowned. Of the promised reinforcement not a man ever reached the Breton shore.<sup>1</sup>

The year again closed under circumstances of general gloom and depression ; the Plague had reappeared in the North for the fourth or fifth time ; Flanders was convulsed by another rising against their Count, the oppressive Louis de Maël, and trade in consequence was at a standstill, to the detriment of the returns from the duties on wool. An appeal to the nation was soon found to be again necessary.

With respect to the revenue, the poll-tax yielded £27,000. In February the Scots had settled the 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s. 4d.) due at Midsummer 1377, on account of the ransom of David II. Twenty-four thousand marks were still due, but nothing more was ever paid.<sup>2</sup> The Customs sink to £42,997 18s.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	136,514	13	0

### 3 RICHARD II

1379-1380. On the 16th January 1380, Parliament met at Westminster. Again Scrope had to expound a dismal tale. The graduated poll-tax had only yielded £27,000, and that had been absorbed by the forces raised for Brittany and some small reinforcements for Aquitaine ; some greater effort must be made. "The Commons listened incredulously." They had no more notion of giving up the war than the Government had ; nor had either of them any idea of the sacrifices necessary for its effectual prosecution. But again we must tax Scrope with having, intentionally or unintentionally, grievously misstated the case. The war taxes received by Walworth and Philpot since Easter 1379 were approaching the sum of £100,000, of which £83,000 had been expended by them, £19,000 going to Calais ; while a sum of £37,000 for which they had made an estimate for wages in the last two years had never been drawn, and the money had been returned into the Exchequer.<sup>3</sup> But Scrope had overshot the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 128-132.

<sup>2</sup> Foedera, II. 56 ; Burnet, Excheq. Rolls Scotland, III. lvii.

<sup>3</sup> Issue and Receipt Rolls, Easter 2, and Michaelmas 3, Richard II. By the end of the year the war taxes in the hands of John Bacon, Chamberlain, stand at £157,623 9s. 10½d. ; Receipt Roll.

mark. The Commons, accepting his statement of the case, thought that the financial breakdown could only be due to the extravagance of the Court, or corruption or incompetency on the part of the standing Council. If it were dismissed, and the five chief officers of state, namely the Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Chamberlain, and Steward of the Household were appointed in Parliament, and if, moreover, the control of the entire expenditure, including that of the King's Household, were committed to a new committee of more popular composition, and armed with larger powers, "matters must surely improve". The King's consent was given, and Scrope at once resigned the Seal, handing it back to Archbishop Sudbury. On the 3rd March, when Parliament rose, the composition of the new Commission was announced, comprising three bishops, three earls, three barons, three knights of the shire, and three burgesses, fifteen in all. The grant of a Subsidy and a half, to be raised at once, was also agreed upon, while the duties on wool and leather were prolonged at the enhanced rates till Michaelmas year. The Commons requested that the proceeds of the Fifteenth and Tenth, and those of the grant that the Clergy were preparing to make,<sup>1</sup> should be applied to the 'voyage to Brittany'; they also requested that they might be spared the burden of any further attendance in Parliament till Michaelmas next year; quite a novel request, as the old demand had always been for Parliaments once a year, oftener if necessary.

The records of this Session again bear witness to the growing anarchy of the realm; the Chancellor in his opening speech admitted that 'it was said' that riots had broken out 'in several parts of the kingdom'; while three of the Commons' petitions were addressed to the same subject. 'Great men' gave the illegal protection of their liveries<sup>2</sup> to shoals of disorderly persons who overawed the courts. The highways were 'ridden' by armed "routes", houses were broken into, and gentle ladies carried off for ransom. The Welsh March was again declared the head-quarters of the brigands, the Palatine jurisdiction of the

<sup>1</sup> The clergy in Convocation granted 16*d.* on the mark; Bp. Stubbs, *sup.*, from 2nd D. K. Report, Appendix II. 173.

<sup>2</sup> "*Chaperons et tielles liveres*," &c. Coloured hoods were the usual party badges of the time.

counties of Lancaster<sup>1</sup> and Chester offering great obstacles to the course of justice. These petty raids could be pushed as far as Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire.

While England was thus heaving with the premonitory symptoms of revolution, the three Royal uncles by whom her counsels were swayed were engrossed by schemes of personal aggrandizement in foreign parts. Thomas, the Earl of Buckingham, was preparing for the expedition to Brittany which he had been appointed to lead, with full powers as King's Lieutenant in France. John of Gaunt at last saw an opening for giving effect to his pretensions to the Crown of Castile; and Edmund, the Earl of Cambridge, was in treaty for a matrimonial alliance for his son Edward, which promised the reversion of the throne of Portugal.

Enrique II of Castile (Trastamare) had passed away on the 30th May 1379, leaving the Crown to his son Juan I, a young man just twenty-one years old. Portugal seized the opportunity of giving trouble to its formidable neighbour. In May 1380 a tripartite treaty was signed in London on behalf of Fernando and Leonor, King and Queen of Portugal, with Richard and the Earl of Cambridge, confirming a treaty of 1372 by which John of Gaunt and Costanza had been recognized as King and Queen of Castile, the allies pledging themselves to war on the House of Trastamare. By the present treaty Edmund was invited to bring 1,000 men-at-arms and as many archers for a combined attack on Juan of Castile, with the promise of the hand of the Infanta Beatriz, the heiress of Portugal, for his son Edward. By this masterly stroke Edmund would win one crown for himself and another for his brother.<sup>2</sup>

These were schemes for the future. Buckingham, naturally, was first in the field. The Lords Latimer, FitzWalter, and Bassett; Robert Knolles, Hugh Calverley, John Harleston, Thomas Percy, Thomas Trevet, and William Windsor, all the best lances in England, were with him. Some fifteen days were spent in the transport, the army passing over by detachments as was commonly the case.<sup>3</sup> On the 19th July Buckingham himself

<sup>1</sup> Lancaster had been created a County Palatine in favour of John of Gaunt, 28th February 1377; Armitage Smith, citing Hardy, Charters, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Angl. 266, &c. For Buckingham's preparations see Foedera, IV.



went over. For a specially prescribed 'voyage' to Brittany the route chosen was a most extraordinary one, being practically the line of Knolles's great march of 1370. But in fact just another such raid of plunder and devastation was in contemplation. Invading Artois and Picardy, they swept past the walls of Laon, Reims, and Troyes. Turning westwards at last, the English held on to Sens and Pithiviers, then again southwards to La Ferté and Vendôme; and again westwards into Maine. Nowhere had any resistance been encountered; Charles still forbidding all pitched encounters. But the French at last, with ever-increasing numbers, were preparing to defend the crossing on the Sarthe near Noyen, when on the 16th September the French King passed away.<sup>1</sup> The English then advanced to Vitré and Rennes, the meeting-place appointed by the Duke of Brittany. To find employment for his troublesome friends, he sent them to lay siege to Nantes, a city which was held by a French garrison. In January the English raised the siege; but Buckingham stayed on in Brittany watching events till April (1381), when he was obliged to come home in deepest dudgeon, having failed to come to terms with young Charles VI.<sup>2</sup>

With Buckingham's return ended the Breton entanglement, and the last chapter in the Breton war.

As for the revenue of the year, the lay Subsidy and a half granted by Parliament yielded £54,800 6s. The clergy in Convocation had voted 16*d.* on the mark (13*s.* 4*d.*),<sup>3</sup> which produced £10,133 9*s.* 9*d.* There would be arrears of the poll-tax, and we hear of money returned to the Treasury; altogether the total rises to a sum only once reached in the previous reign.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	256,024	14	7

86-91. He received post-dated drafts on the Fifteenth and the wool duties for £14,592 14*s.* 2*d.* An intercepted letter from a man with the army gives the van as 700 men-at-arms, and as many archers; the centre as 1,000 men of each arm; and the rear-guard of the same strength as the van: 4,800 men in all; Rot. Parl. III. 91.

<sup>1</sup> Christine de Pisau, 319-321, ed. Buchan. Charles was succeeded by his son, Charles VI; born 3rd September 1368; he was crowned on the 9th November.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 135-138.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 133; Stubbs from D. K. Report.



## 4 RICHARD II

1380-1381. With such prolonged operations on foot the summons of another Parliament had long become necessary. On the 5th November the Session was opened. The Chancellor-Archbishop, Simon of Sudbury, had no better report to give than his predecessor had. The Scots, earlier in the year, had been harrying in the North; the French and Spaniards were cruising in the South. The expedition to Brittany was still dragging on; while minor armaments for Guienne, Ireland, and the Scottish March had exhausted the proceeds of the last grant; the Customs were still suffering from the disturbances in Flanders, and the crown jewels had not yet been redeemed from pawn.<sup>1</sup> Yet Buckingham was pressing for supplies and reinforcements; while the pay of the garrisons of Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg was more than a quarter in arrear. The Commons asked what sum would be required. The Ministers produced an estimate which amounted to £160,000; being in round numbers the amount of the expenditure of the previous 'term'.<sup>2</sup> The Commons were staggered by this demand, which they declared 'outrageous and intolerable'; but they requested the Lords to suggest a means of raising the money. After mature deliberation the Peers propounded three alternatives: a poll-tax; an *alcavala*; <sup>3</sup> or a grant by way of Fifteenths and Tenths. But they expressed a preference for the first, which of course bore lightest on the richer contributors. The Commons took the same view, and said that they would vote a sum of £100,000 to be raised by 'groats' if the clergy, who owned one-third of the land in the kingdom, would undertake one-third of the amount. The clergy, "who were well awake to the importance of the crisis," and probably anxious to avoid giving the Wycliffite party at Court any opportunity of suggesting disendowment as a financial expedient, at once undertook to raise their quota.<sup>4</sup> The tax voted was a poll-tax, on the average, of three groats

<sup>1</sup> See Riley, Memorials of London, 443; September.

<sup>2</sup> Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Richard II; £144,000 of the amount belonged to the special war account.

<sup>3</sup> A percentage on all sales of goods, see above.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 89, 90, i. e. the laity to pay £66,000 and the clergy £33,000.

(1s.) per head of persons over fifteen years of age, 'the strong to help the weak'; but so that no one should pay more than sixty groats, nor less than one groat for himself and his wife. The collectors were bound to produce a shilling for every adult person in the district, except beggars. In places where some could be assessed at the higher rates, the poorer inhabitants could be let off with the minimum 4*d.*; but this relief would not come into play where all were poor alike, the system failing where relief was most needed. In those districts each man would have to pay his full shilling.<sup>1</sup> The pressure of a demand of a shilling a head from the general population may be gauged from the fact that at this period the wages of a carter, ploughman, or shepherd only averaged 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.<sup>2</sup> The very inadequate compensation offered by the scale of 1379 was discarded, and a duke or an archbishop let off with a contribution of 20*s.*<sup>3</sup> It was also specially provided that labourers and domestic servants should be made to contribute.<sup>4</sup> The Commons also agreed to continue the wool duties at existing rates till Christmas 1381. But they began at last to remonstrate against the 'plurality of wars' with which they were encompassed: they insisted that the proceeds of the new 'tallage' should be exclusively applied to the relief of Buckingham—who was at the siege of Nantes—and the defence of the home coasts; and they obtained the reappointment of the Commission for the control of the public expenditure.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of April (1381) Buckingham returned to England,

<sup>1</sup> Canterbury Convocation met on the 1st December (before Parliament had risen), and agreed to the grant; and that of York gave in their consent on the 10th January (1381); Wake, 312. The clergy were to pay from 1*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* per head; Wilkins, III. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, Prices, II. 333. Later in the reign Parliament wanted to cut the rate down to 10*s.* See below.

<sup>3</sup> The reader will bear in mind that under an ordinary Subsidy a farmer or landlord would pay 6½ per cent. of the assessed value of all the contents of his barns and folds after harvest; and that a trader would contribute 10 per cent. of all his stock-in-trade.

<sup>4</sup> As the one groat per head in 1376 had produced £22,000, it was natural to suppose that three groats per head would produce £66,000.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 88-90, 93, &c.; Chron. Angl. 281; Murimuth, Cont. 242. The Receipt Rolls for the ensuing term, Michaelmas, 4 Richard II, are wanting, but the expenditure (which usually approximates closely to the receipts) was only £93,745 10*s.* On the 6th December Parliament rose.

as already mentioned, in time to see his brother of Cambridge depart on his precious expedition to Portugal,<sup>1</sup> and also in time to witness the outbreak of that unique and portentous phenomenon, the Peasant Revolt.

The third poll-tax had done its work; it had filled up the measure of discontent among all the poorer classes, and brought into line all who had any grievance or quarrel with the existing state of things.

The Peasant Revolt of 1381 was a Socialist movement of the wildest character. But it was not the despairing effort of men goaded by intolerable oppression, like those of the *Jacques Bonhomme* of 1358, or the *Maillotins* and *Tuchins* of 1382 of which we shall hear. It was a movement of men who were fairly well off, conscious of their strength, and determined to get rid of burdens that pressed unduly on them. Corn was cheap, and wages high. Those of them who were best off took the most prominent part in the movement. In Essex and Kent, where the rising broke out, the conditions of labour were among the lightest.<sup>2</sup> The leaders had been taking legal advice and raising funds in furtherance of their ends. Their demands reveal the two social questions of the time: one, the struggle of Servile Labour to get free; the other, the resistance of Free Labour to the impossible rates of the Statutes of Labourers.<sup>3</sup> It should be pointed out that no disloyalty to the King was evinced. Their hostility was primarily directed against the Ministers responsible for the imposition of the poll-tax, namely, the Chancellor and the Treasurer. Landlords and judges and the whole legal profession were also reckoned among their enemies.

Irritating as the poll-tax was, the rising did not break out as soon as the collection of the tax began. Parliament had ordered that two-thirds of the proceeds should be paid by the collectors into the Exchequer by the 13th January (1381), and the rest by Whitsunday (2nd June). But when January came the returns were utterly insufficient and disappointing, and fresh writs were

<sup>1</sup> Edmund sailed about the end of May; Mon. Evesh. 32.

<sup>2</sup> "*Il ad nul vylenage en Kent*"; Year Book 30 Edw. I. Personal villeinage must be understood.

<sup>3</sup> For the revolt and the circumstances leading up to it see Oman, *Great Revolt*; Edgar Powell, *Rising in East Anglia*; and Réville, *Soulèvement des Travailleurs*.

issued on the 22nd February, ordering the collectors to send in the whole of the proceeds at once.<sup>1</sup> But, apparently, they had collected all that was forthcoming. The increase in the rate of the tax had had the natural consequence of leading to evasion, and evasions had been practised on the most audacious scale. As the taxable age had been raised from fourteen to fifteen years, some diminution in the returns, as compared with the returns from those assessed to the previous poll-taxes, was due, but the new returns showed falls in the population in different counties running from 20 to 50 per cent. In some places only married pairs were returned.<sup>2</sup>

The Government now saw that there was something wrong, and on the 16th of March, satisfied that the collectors had been grossly negligent or corrupt, they appointed a fresh set of commissioners to go round the counties, Hundred by Hundred, to test the lists, and extract the groats from every person who could be hunted up.<sup>3</sup> This fresh turn of the screw caused the explosion. A report was got up that a fresh, unauthorized levy was going to be exacted. On the 30th May the trouble began, namely at Brentwood in Essex. One of the newly appointed commissioners, having come down to hold an inquiry as to the non-payment of the tax, was met with defiance, and hustled and driven out of the town. Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, was then sent down with a Commission of Trailbaston, but met with no more respect. Confronted by an armed mob he had to beat his retreat, but three clerks and the unfortunate jurors who had been empanelled to present the offenders of the 30th of May, had their heads cut off and set up on poles (2 June).

Kent had already risen. On the 10th June the celebrated Wat the tyler of Essex, the great man of the movement, makes his first appearance on the scene. Under his leadership the insurgents marched to Canterbury, sacked the Archbishop's palace, vowing to cut off the traitor's head if they could catch

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Powell, *Rising in East Anglia*, 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Oman, *Pol. Hist.* IV. 23; Powell, *sup.* 120.

<sup>3</sup> Further payments were obtained by the second set of commissioners, but the totals were still far below what they should have been. The entire sum collected appears to have been £44,825 14s. 3d.; Powell, 5, 6. It ought to have totalled £66,000.



him. The "traitor" in question was Archbishop Simon of Sudbury, who, at the time, also held the office of Chancellor. Three men denounced as obnoxious were massacred.

On the 12th June the insurgents appeared in force on Blackheath Common, making for London, the seat of the Government they proposed to bring to terms. But no attack on the King's person or prerogative appears ever to have been contemplated. The rioters, we are told, had a "Wacheword", which was this, "With whome haldes you?" The answer required was, "With Kinge Richarde and the true comons". Woe to him who failed to give the proper answer. Off went his head. The Princess of Wales, having fallen in with some of their bands, was allowed to pass through.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th June London was invaded from three sides under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. The Fleet Prison was broken and the jail-birds set free. The Temple buildings, obnoxious as the seat of the legal profession, their enemies, were next attacked and destroyed, and all law books and "Rolls and remembrances" kept in the Temple Church were taken out of their hutches and burnt in the street. The Savoy, the magnificent palace of John of Gaunt, the noblest residence in the kingdom, had already been destroyed by the Londoners. Further outrages followed, the insurgents at night bivouacking, some at Mile End and some round the Tower, to keep watch on its inmates.

At the King's suggestion a meeting with the rioters at Mile End was arranged for the morrow, to parley with them, and give the proscribed Ministers in the Tower a chance of escape. Meanwhile the King held a conference with the insurgents from a turret or bastion overlooking their position round the Tower, offering amnesty for all who would go home. They answered with one voice that they would not go home till they had the traitors in the Tower; as well as charters of freedom from all villeinage, and other requirements. A conciliatory "bille" written out off-hand offering pardon for all trespasses, and promising consideration of grievances, was rejected with scorn.<sup>2</sup>

On the 24th June, on the stroke of seven, the King with his mother in her "whirlecote" or chariot, and all his attendant magnates, started for Mile End. By the insurgents gathered

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 146-149.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 149-152.



round Wat Tyler, the King was received with marked respect. "We want no king but thee, O Richard." But Wat proceeded to enumerate the popular requirements. First they demanded the traitors who had proved such "evil counsellors" to the King. Richard granted that they might have any traitors that could be legally proved such. The further demands were : (1) the abolition of villeinage ; (2) the abolition of all private courts and franchises ; (3) land at 4*d.* an acre. This had been the rent of poor "bond" land in the time of Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

To grant such terms without the consent of Parliament was not in the King's power ; but to reject them openly was fraught with too great risk. Richard therefore proceeded to temporize, and riding down the ranks of the rioters, marshalled as at a review, proclaimed by the voice of a crier his grant of freedom to all and a general acceptance of the insurgents' terms, under which at all hands the unfortunate 'traitors' in the Tower were understood to have been abandoned as scapegoats to the mob.

Tyler and his more hot-headed followers hastened back to the Tower, which they found open to them with the drawbridge down. Bursting into the chapel, they seized the Archbishop and the forlorn little band that were calmly awaiting their fate ; seized them and carried them off to be beheaded with every indignity on Tower Hill. Robert Hales the Treasurer and five others were among the victims.

For the night the King retired to the Wardrobe at Blackfriars, the strongest place in London after the Tower.

Throughout the 15th June disorder prevailed ; Westminster Abbey was invaded and men torn from Sanctuary to be beheaded. But Richard, or his advisers, were calling for another interview with the insurgents, who had been summoned to present themselves in Smithfield. The King took up his position at the east end, in front of St. Bartholomew's, the rioters being arranged at the west end. Walworth the financier, who was Mayor, was sent to order the leader to come forward and meet the King. Wat rode up bravely on a little pony, with a man on horseback carrying his banner behind him. Dismounting and half-kneeling, he took Richard by the hand in the most free and easy fashion, shaking it lustily and saying, "Brother, be of good cheer. We

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Cant. IV. 311.

twain shall be right good fellows." Richard in response, with almost child-like simplicity, asked why they would not disperse and go home. Wat answered with an oath that they would not go home till they had all their demands, which he proceeded to rehearse by word of mouth, demanding, in addition to points already conceded, extensive redistribution of lay and Church property, and suppression of all bishoprics except one. While the King and Tyler were conversing apart, none of the attendants joining in the colloquy, a Kentish man in the King's retinue, pressing forward, denounced Wat as the greatest thief in Kent. Tyler ordering his attendant to draw his sword on the man, Walworth rushed in, and arrested Wat for violence in the King's presence. Wat turned his dagger against the Mayor's breast, but Walworth wore a shirt of mail under his gown; with a "base-lart" or cutlass he struck the rebel on the head and neck, while an attendant stabbed him in the breast; struggling on a few yards he fell to the ground. The moment was critical; bows were being strung, when Richard, spurring to the front, called out, 'I will be your captain, follow me'; and placing himself at their head, led the rioters northwards, away from the City, to Clerkenwell Fields, open farm land. Meanwhile Walworth hastened to bring up forces that the aldermen had been mustering in self-defence. They found the insurgents cooped up in a field of corn 'like sheep in a fold'. "Mercy" was now the cry, the deluded men falling on their knees in terror. Happily merciful counsels prevailed; the King granted their prayer, and Knolles, the man of war, gave the word, 'Fall out! ye wretches, slack bowstrings and begone.' And, fast enough, they broke up and went. Two knights were told off to see the Kentish men through the streets of London and so over London Bridge.

The nerve and presence of mind shown by Richard throughout those terrible days, considering his youth and the retirement of his upbringing, must be pronounced extraordinary if not unparalleled.<sup>1</sup> One of such promise properly led and directed should have proved a successful ruler.

London was rid of the mob, and the neck of the rebellion was broken. But in the North and East the people were rising at a rate that suggested a considerable amount of preparation or

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 153-160.

preconcord. Round London the riots and outrages proved "sporadic and short-lived".

In East Anglia the rising ran to greater lengths, a mere wild outburst in which the whole population, urban as well as rural, was involved, murder being accompanied by robbery and brigandage. In Suffolk the lead was taken by one John Wrawe of Sudbury, a man in Holy Orders. On the 14th June he attacked the monastic buildings at Bury and looted the house of the Chief Justice, John Cavendish of Cavendish, a proscribed man, and that of the Prior. Both fled for their lives. Cavendish was captured while attempting to cross the Ouse at Brandon, taken to Lakenheath, and there beheaded. The Prior, John of Cambridge, caught in a wood near Newmarket, suffered likewise.<sup>1</sup>

In East Suffolk on the 14th June bands entered Ipswich, sacked the house of the Archdeacon of Suffolk, and then dispersed to pillage the houses of Justices of the Peace and tax-gatherers.

In Cambridgeshire the rising "flared up" simultaneously at a dozen different places. At Cambridge itself the revolt, naturally, took the shape of an attack on the University and its jurisdiction. On the 15th June the bell at Great St. Mary's was tolled as a signal for revolt. The houses of the Bedel and Chancellor (Cavendish) were wrecked, as well as those of the newly-founded Corpus Christi College. The College, unfortunately, owned much house property. Next day, a Sunday, Great St. Mary's was entered during Mass, and the boxes containing the University archives and plate carried off.

At Ely the people rose, forced the Bishop's jail, beheaded a Justice of the Peace and a lawyer, and burnt the Bishop's rolls and papers.

In Norfolk the people had promptly turned out, as men rode from village to village calling on the commons to turn out. On the 16th June outrages were reported from half a dozen places, extending to a line drawn from Wymondham to East Dereham. On the 17th of the month, in answer to proclamations issued in the names of Roger Bacon of Baconsthorpe and Geoffrey Lyster (a dyer), a large meeting was held on Mousehold Heath about a mile from Norwich, to arrange plans for impressing men of position, and compelling them to join the movement. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 161-166; Oman and Powell, *sup.*

ingly press-gangs were sent out to scour the country in search of magnates. Five belted knights were brought in, four of whom accepted Lyster's terms and took service under "The King of the Commons" as he was pleased to style himself. The leading townspeople of Norwich, we may well believe, would fain have closed their gates and kept Lyster and his men out; but the lower orders forced them to parley with the rioters. 'With pennons flying and martial array' Roger Bacon rode into the city at the head of his bands. The houses of all 'traitors' were sacked; one Justice of the Peace was beheaded, but no general massacre or pillage took place.<sup>1</sup>

Of all those interested in the maintenance of order, one man, at last, had appeared who had not lost his head. Henry le Despenser, grandson of the younger Hugh, the favourite of Edward II, a man of a martial turn, had rendered useful military service in Italy under Urban V, and had received his reward in the shape of a 'Provision' to the see of Norwich. With soldierly pride he kept up the unusual retinue of some eight lances and a quota of archers. At the time of the outbreak he was living in Rutlandshire. On hearing of the disturbances he took the field at once with his retinue, hastening to his sphere of duty. He fell on the Abbey tenants at Peterborough and Ramsey, who were demanding the surrender of charters. Entering Cambridge, he completed the pacification by beheading some and sending the others home. Meanwhile Lyster at Norwich, losing heart, had sent off an embassy to beg for pardon, and the terms supposed to have been granted at Mile End. At Temple Bridge near Newmarket the party was met and arrested by Despenser; the three envoys were allowed to confess and then beheaded. Advancing to Norwich, the Bishop found that Lyster had evacuated the city and retired for a last stand, with all the men that he could keep together, to North Walsham, where he had fortified an entrenched camp with ditch and palisade. But Despenser's force had been greatly strengthened by local gentry, so, without a moment's hesitation, he blew up his trumpets, and, lance in hand, clad in steel from head to foot, leaped the ditch and crashed through the palisade, while sending his horsemen round to take the enemy in the rear. The whole force was

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 167-169; Oman and Powell.



utterly broken up, numbers being killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was the "King of the Commons". Doffing his armour and donning his cowl, the Bishop took the man's confession, absolved him, and then as his confessor walked solemnly beside him as he was drawn on a hurdle to the gallows.<sup>1</sup>

The reduction of Suffolk followed hard on that of Norfolk. In fact the rising may be said to have been confined to the Home Counties, Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Herts, Essex, and East Anglia. Throughout the rest of England there was much alarm but little real disturbance.

Destitute as the revolt had been of the smallest support from the educated and propertied classes, it never had any chance of success.

But while the exhausted rioters, divided between hope and fear, were looking anxiously for amnesty and the fulfilment of the King's promises, the Government was arranging for judicial severities against all in any way implicated. On the 22nd June Robert Tresilian was appointed Chief Justice of England, with the special duty of punishing insurgents, while the King's half-brother, Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, was directed to hold a like assize in Kent. The King took Tresilian into Essex. The Essex men who had gathered again at Billericay sent in some anxiety to know if they were to have the concessions of the Mile End Charter, or at any rate the grant of relief from personal bondage, and from liability to suit of court except twice a year at 'View of Frankpledge'. Richard, in the true spirit of a Rehoboam, told them that bondsmen they were, and that in worse bondage than ever should they remain. Attempting to make a stand in a fortified camp in a wood, they were ridden down and scattered. On the 2nd July the King published at Colchester a formal revocation of his charters. About the same time Tresilian opened his Bloody Assize there, sending the accused in batches to the gallows; as many as nineteen might be seen hanging from one beam. From Colchester King and Chief Justice moved to St. Albans. The jury refusing to present any one, a ready-written roll of names was produced, and the men of three successive juries of twelve were dared on peril of their lives to acquit any one. On the strength of a unanimous finding of thirty-six

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 169-171.



men so obtained, fifteen men were hung. Eighty minor offenders were committed to jail.<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of a similar character were kept up for an indefinite period in Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Herts., Beds., Bucks., Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire, the appetite for blood, apparently, being insatiable. But the Government was not content with the punishment of individuals; the country towns where riots had taken place had to pay the penalty. Thus Canterbury, Bury, Beverley, Scarborough, Bridgewater, and Cambridge were severely mulcted in their collective capacities.<sup>2</sup> Between the destruction of property by the rioters and the cruel exactions of the Government, the richer citizens must have been reduced to something like utter poverty.

With respect to the general results of the whole movement, it is painful to find that on the whole very little gain can be attributed to the efforts of the peasantry. The process of emancipation had been going on, and still went on; it may have been to some extent accelerated by the outbreak; but it is clear that villein services had not come to an end, and that on the contrary, in some places, landlords were tightening their hold on rights that were slipping from their grasp.<sup>3</sup> The rising certainly put all possibility of legislative emancipation out of the question.

With regard to the revenue, the lay share of the poll-tax, assessed at £66,000, only yielded £44,825 14s. 3d. The clergy were assessed at £33,000, and as they were seldom let off with anything less than their legal assessment, we may take it that they paid the whole £33,000. The returns of the Michaelmas term are wanting. The Easter receipts alone give the substantial return of £61,876 10s. 3d. The expenditure for the autumn term (which usually approximates closely to the receipts) rises to £93,705 10s. Putting the two together we may, in round numbers, fairly estimate the revenue at £155,000.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	155,000	0	0

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 171-174.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parlt. III. 113, 118. The Bishop's severities in Norfolk provoked a fresh attempt at rising in September 1382. Disturbances at York, Scarborough, and Beverley appear to have broken out as late as that time; id. 135, 397.

<sup>3</sup> Powell, 5, 6, 63, 66; Oman, 153-156.

## 5 RICHARD II

1381-1382. On the 3rd November Parliament met at Westminster. But the actual business of the session was not taken in hand till the 13th of the month, when Hugh Segrave the Treasurer frankly laid the great question before the united Houses. The King, he said, had been constrained to grant letters of manumission to the 'natives' during the troubles, as was known to all. The King was aware that the letters were illegal, but he had granted them for the best. As soon as he was restored to his power and Royal estate he had revoked them. In so doing had he acted rightly or wrongly? That was the question for them to answer. 'For', said the Treasurer, 'if you desire to enfranchise the 'natives', as it is reported that some of you do, the King is willing to give his assent.' These words seemed to suggest the expediency of some compromise. "But no thoughts of compromise influenced the landowners in their reply." On the 18th November, after asking to hear the King's 'charge' repeated, prelates, lords, knights and burgesses answered with one voice that the 'natives' could not be enfranchised without their consent, 'and this consent', they ended, 'we have never given, and never will give were we all to live and die in one day.'<sup>1</sup>

On the land question, then, there was no difference of opinion. "But the political question was different: the rising had been occasioned by the misgovernment of the country";<sup>2</sup> and the Commons declared that without some radical measure of reform the country would not be safe from renewed outbreaks. After some fencing between the Peers and the Commons, by way of doing something, a commission for the reform of the King's Household was appointed, with John of Gaunt at its head; also commissions of inquiry into the state of the public services and the state of trade.

The question of a Subsidy led to a direct trial of strength. The Commons wished for three special 'graces'. The first, an act of indemnity for illegal acts committed in the suppression of the revolt; the second, a qualified amnesty for the less guilty

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 99, 100: "*a quoy ils n'assenterent unques de lour bone gree, n'autrement, ne jamais ne ferroient pur vivre et murrir touz en un jour.*"

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 483; Genesis, II. 178-179.

participators in the disturbances; and the third, a remission of minor pains and penalties in favour of loyal subjects. The Ministers produced the draft of a suitable measure, and asked for a grant. The Commons however refused point-blank to impose any sort of 'tallage' or direct tax, as being too perilous. The Ministers then reminded them that the wool duties would expire at Christmas; the Commons said that they would like to consult their constituents, and asked for an adjournment for the Christmas holidays. The Ministers agreed to the adjournment, and withdrew the Act of Grace, which they said would be produced in the regular course at the close of the session.<sup>1</sup> The Commons then gave way so far as to grant a continuance of the wool duties, at existing rates, but only from the 1st January 1382 to the 2nd February 1383, the duties being allowed to lapse from Christmas Day to the 1st of January as a precedent for refusing.<sup>2</sup>

Among the measures notified to the Commons before the adjournment was the appointment of the Earl of Arundel, and Michael, Lord de la Pole, late Admiral of the Northern fleet, as Governors of the King's person.<sup>3</sup> During the rising Richard had given wonderful proofs of energy and capacity. It seems somewhat strange that he should not be thought fit to govern, and stranger still that he himself should acquiesce in that view. He was nearly fifteen years of age, and about to marry. But nothing had been done to call out any noble aspirations on his part, or to train him in the exercise of public duties; he had rather been kept back than put forward. His tutors and early advisers, Guichard d'Angle and Simon Burley, were gallant knights and accomplished courtiers, but not men to instil constitutional ideas. The King was cultivated, but he had been brought up in an atmosphere of luxury and refinement, and was imbued "with

<sup>1</sup> The towns of Canterbury, Bury, Beverley, Scarborough, Bridgewater, and Cambridge were excluded from the amnesty, with 281 named persons, of whom at least eight were clergymen; Rot. Parl. III. 103, 222. The towns, however, were shortly admitted to grace, all but Bury. But as each individual had to sue out (and pay for) his charter of pardon, there were still in October 1382 numbers of men keeping at large and rendered desperate by fear of apprehension; id. 139.

<sup>2</sup> See Rot. Parl. III. 101-104. In consequence the exportation of wool from Christmas Eve to the 1st January was immediately forbidden; Foed. IV. 137.

<sup>3</sup> "*Pur consceller et gouverner sa persone,*" &c.; Rot. Parl. III. 104.

the highest notions of prerogative". The notions of his position that we shall find him developing might be described as almost Oriental. Habitually idle, he was prepared to leave all trouble to others, satisfied that if occasion should call for exertion on his part, he could at any moment 'assume the god, affect to nod, and shake the spheres'. Unfortunately, the personal agency of the King was still as indispensable as ever. An able or popular king still becomes almost absolute: under a weak or unpopular king the country falls into anarchy and chaos. With respect to the responsibility for the spoiling of a prince, "whose life evinces not only traits of nobility, but certain proofs of mental power", his father, with all his parental affection, could hardly be considered a man likely to exercise an elevating moral influence on his son; nor could any better training be attributed to Richard's mother, to judge by the characters developed in her sons, Richard's half-brothers, the two Hollands. In these men the King "had companions of the worst sort, violent, dissipated, and cruel"; while his "personal friend and confidant" Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, might be considered in several respects a second Gaveston.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th December the Parliament was adjourned, in view of the proximate arrival of the King's intended bride, Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Charles IV and sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, and Emperor-elect. The negotiations had been opened in December 1380. On the 2nd May 1381 the terms were settled in London; and ratified by Wenzel on the 1st September. Of course the Germans wished for a little money, and the English found that Richard could make an 'advance' of 20,000 florins to his future brother-in-law, and agree to give 80,000 more when the bride was delivered up.<sup>2</sup> John Holland, the King's half-brother, Steward of the Household, and Simon Burley, the King's private Chamberlain, were sent to Calais to receive the Lady;<sup>3</sup> about the 18th December she crossed to Dover;<sup>4</sup> Lancaster

<sup>1</sup> See the able review of the situation, Bp. Stubbs, II. 486, 487.

<sup>2</sup> Foed., 104-119, 132; cf. Devon, Issues, 218; £2,841 13s. 4d. paid 30th January 1382; Pell Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 5 Rich. II.

<sup>3</sup> Foed., 136.

<sup>4</sup> Froissart, II. 182. The Evesham writer gives the 20th December as the day of crossing. The Lady's German escort had their return-journey money sent them on the 21st December; Devon, Issues, 219.



received her and took her to Leeds Castle, where she remained over the Christmas season. On the 18th January (1382), at last, she was brought to London, and was taken in triumphal procession to Westminster, there to be married on the 20th January. The object of the connexion was to detach the House of Luxemburg from the French alliance, but the only result was to introduce the doctrines of John Wycliffe to the notice of the countrymen of John Huss.

On the 27th January (1382) Parliament resumed.<sup>1</sup> For the defence of the realm the Commons agreed to continue the wool duties at existing rates to Midsummer 1386. The desired indemnity for illegal acts committed in suppressing the revolt, and the revocation of the villeins' charters were enacted in statutory form ; as well as the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the public service, and the state of trade. The suggestions for the amendment of procedure in the Exchequer were of a very practical character, and creditable to the Chancellor, Richard Scrope. But on the trade question the merchants had nothing better to propose than a renewal of the old prohibition on the exportation of coin and bullion, with limitations on the wholesale and retail prices of different kinds of wines.<sup>2</sup> For the protection of British shipping subjects were forbidden to export goods except in native bottoms, a beginning of the Navigation Laws. Lastly, the amnesty was extended to the excepted towns, all but Bury. On the 25th February the session rose.

Within a month writs were issued for a fresh Parliament. A great opportunity for a renewal of active operations against France seemed to have offered itself. The men of Ghent, at war with their extravagant Count Louis de Maël, and reduced to extremity, in their sorest need had taken Philippe van Artevelde, son of Jacques, as their Captain-General. The mere name breathed defiance to France ; and France, north and south, was distracted by the risings of the *Maillotins* and the *Tuchins*, fresh *Jacqueries* of the poorest of the poor, driven to desperation by

<sup>1</sup> The total receipts for the current half year, 1st October 1381 to 25th March 1382 (Michaelmas, 5 Rich. II), only came to £62,836 8s. 2½d.

<sup>2</sup> The tun or " tonel " of best Gascon or Spanish wine was not to exceed £5 ; the gallon not to exceed 6d. This would make the tonel = 2 pipes of 100 gallons each.



continued depredations of Free Companies on the one hand, and grinding taxation on the other hand. The peasants' revolt, naturally, had received a great impulse from the reports of the risings in England.<sup>1</sup>

Richard felt stirred to take the field in person; perhaps his mother wished him to distinguish himself. But funds were wanting. A Grand Council of magnates was held at Windsor, and merchant delegates were summoned to discuss the question of ways and means.<sup>2</sup> But the merchants could take care of themselves now, and they refused to make any advance without the sanction of Parliament.

The session met at Westminster on the 7th May. Scrope the Chancellor explained the state of affairs, and showed that £60,000 at least would be required, as the King could not possibly undertake a first expedition with less than 3,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. After a day's deliberation the county members said that the question was one for the consideration of the mercantile community: the borough members answered that the merchants who had embarked in financial operations with the late King had mostly come very badly out of them; some had lost all their money; those who had made any profit had been impeached;<sup>3</sup> but if the clergy and laity in general were disposed to make advances, 'without gain', the merchants would do likewise.<sup>4</sup> No grant was made except a renewal of the surtaxes of 2s. on the "tonel" of wine—and sixpence on the £1 of general merchandise to the 29th September 1384, for the maintenance of a Channel fleet, the proceeds to be paid to collectors appointed by Parliament. These surtaxes would be in addition to the *Parva Custuma*, which had long been held part of the hereditary revenue.<sup>5</sup>

Thus in the divided state of English parties nothing was done for Flanders, where Philippe van Artevelde was in the full swing of his brief career. On the 3rd May he had defeated Count Louis at Beverhoutsveld, within sight of Bruges, and as a consequence

<sup>1</sup> 1379-1381; Sismondi, France, XI. 263-274, 340-346; Lavissee, IV. 271, 278.

<sup>2</sup> "Pur chevance faire," i.e. make advances.

<sup>3</sup> This was an allusion to the proceedings of the Good Parliament; William de la Pole, John Weseham, John Malewayn, and Walter Chiryton were named as sufferers.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 122, 123.

<sup>5</sup> "Oulvre les aunciennes custumes et subsidies ent dues pardevant."

had made himself master of Bruges, till then in alliance with the feudal party and the Count.<sup>1</sup>

For the revenue of the year it sinks to the humble sum of £90,951 1s., the lowest but one of the reign. Of that sum the Customs provided £52,419 8s. 2d., leaving £38,531 as the yield of all other sources.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	90,951	1	0

## 6 RICHARD II

1382-1383. On the 6th October a session of Parliament, the third within the twelve month, met at Westminster. The proceedings were opened by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, Chancellor, the third since the death of Sudbury, beheaded by the rioters just fifteen months before; while in addition four successive Keepers of the Seal had held office in that time; a rapidity of change suggestive of gross caprice or intrigue at head-quarters. The faithful and honest public servant Scrope had been dismissed for refusing to seal some extravagant grants made by the King at the expense of the Mortimer estates that were in hand.<sup>2</sup> However, under a fresh access of war fever all went smoothly. The proceedings were formally opened by Braybroke; but on the 9th October John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, was commissioned on the part of the King to expound the state of national affairs. Never had the country been in greater danger of invasion and utter subjugation than at that time (!). Three ways out of trouble, however, were open to them. One was by way of Flanders, where the people were offering service and alliance, if only succour could be sent to support them against their enemies and those of England. Then there was the way by Portugal than which no likelier way in all the world could be found for putting a speedy and effectual end to all their wars. 'For', the Bishop continued, 'if "*Monsieur d'Espagne*" were to go out in sufficient strength to support the forces already operating there, he might reckon upon being King of Spain, or bringing the enemy to battle within six months' time. His

<sup>1</sup> Lavissee, IV. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Mortimer died at Cork 27th December 1381; Philippa died a few days later, leaving a son Roger, next in succession to the Crown; Complete Peerage.

success would bring all our other wars to a speedy end.' <sup>1</sup> Thus John of Gaunt had not dropped his schemes; he was still wanting an 'advance' of pay for 2,000 men-at-arms, and as many archers, for six months.<sup>2</sup> With respect to two at any rate of these ways of deliverance the Bishop had a most encouraging piece of news to impart. The Holy Father, Urban VI, of his special kindness towards the realm of England, had granted two Crusades: one in favour of John of Gaunt, against his adversary of Spain; the other in favour of the martial Bishop of Norwich, Henry le Despenser, against 'the Anti-pope styling himself Clement', and his adherents.

The Peers approved of John of Gaunt's proposal; while the Commons intimated a preference for the Crusade in Flanders, on account of the shortness of the sea passage, and the greater likelihood of men being induced to serve in Flanders at their own cost and charges; with that view they authorized the King to remove the Calais Staple to Flanders. No actual decision was come to as to the several schemes laid before the Houses, but a half Fifteenth and Tenth was granted for the defence of the realm.

The petitions to the Parliament show that the policing of the seas was so utterly wanting that on the north coast alone sixty ships and "crayers" had been destroyed by hostile cruisers.

On the 24th October Parliament rose. In November and December the two Provinces met in Convocation. Half-Tenths were voted by both assemblies. These grants were understood to be the price paid for the support of the Government against the Lollards.<sup>3</sup>

But by that time the collapse of 'the way by Portugal' had become notorious. The Spaniards and Portuguese had come to terms, at the expense of the English. The Portuguese agreed to drop the English marriage, and accept a Castilian husband, Juan's son, for their Infanta; while the Spaniards agreed to provide shipping for the transport of their troublesome allies back to their Northern Isle. Late in November the disappointed Earl (Cambridge) and his men landed in England.

The door by way of Spain likewise might, for the time, be said

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Under the Earl of Cambridge; see above.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 186-188.

to have passed out of sight. Urban's Bull, however, for the Crusade against the Clementine Count Louis de Maël, was still to the good. But alas! shortly after Parliament had risen the opportunity for effective action in Flanders had also been lost. Defeated by van Artevelde at Beverhoutsveld (3 May 1382), Louis de Maël, the Count of Flanders, had fallen back on his son-in-law the Duke of Burgundy; and the Duke again appealed to his young nephew, Charles VI of France. Entering Flanders together in force, they inflicted a crushing defeat on Artevelde at Roosebeke, a little to the south of Bruges, Philippe himself being among the fallen (20th November 1382).<sup>1</sup> As a consequence all the chief towns except Ghent opened their gates to Count Louis.

Thus the last of the ways of deliverance out of England's troubles was gone, and the last prop on which England had been led to rest her hopes had fallen.

But the devout English public had been excited beyond measure by the proclamation of the Crusade against the schismatics of Flanders, and the temptation of the spiritual rewards, prospective and retrospective, to be earned by participation in the holy war. The clergy beat the war-drum assiduously, while Pardoners pressed the sale of Indulgences. All holy wars are horrible. But Urban's Crusade against the Flemings must be pronounced of surpassing atrocity, in that the men whom he denounced were good Urbanists, but doomed to be put to the sword because they owed allegiance to a Clementine Count. The essentially political character of the Papacy as an institution was never made more manifest. The Holy Father sacrifices orthodox followers for the sake of schismatic support in the field.

The English Government, however, anxious for the safety of Calais, favoured the movement. But the question of the leadership of the expedition led to prolonged discussions, first in Grand Council, and then in a Parliament summoned for the purpose. The King was not prepared to go. The Bishop of Norwich flourished his Bulls, and demanded to be allowed to exercise the powers conferred upon him by the Vicegerent of Christ. The Lords, naturally, protested against a national armament being sent abroad, not under the King's flag, but under the flag of the Pope, and in charge of a churchman, and a man of no greater

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 199.



experience of warfare than Bishop Henry le Despenser. A whole fortnight the struggle lasted. But the Commons, 'whose hearts God had touched,' stood resolutely by the Bishop, their chief aim evidently being to keep the King's uncles out of the business. They carried the day, and the uncontrolled management of the whole expedition was placed in Despenser's hands, together with the proceeds of a Fifteenth and Tenth, and those of Tunnage and Poundage, voted by the lieges in addition, of course, to all the freewill offerings of the faithful.

Active preparation began at once. On the 17th April Despenser solemnly took the Cross at St. Paul's; while preaching missions were organized from parish to parish, and the sale of Pardons and Indulgences pressed with a success that moved the smiles of some and the indignation of others. John Wycliffe raised his voice once more to denounce this crowning 'abomination of desolation in high places'; his protest, his last utterance on public affairs, fell unnoticed.<sup>1</sup> A year later he passed away at Lutterworth.<sup>2</sup>

The expedition as propounded by the Government, though uncalled for and extravagant, had some justification for it. But as carried out by Despenser it became a sanguinary, buccaneering raid of the worst description, the darkest page in all the dark story of the Hundred Years' War.

On Trinity Sunday (17 May) the fanatical Bishop led his van across the Channel.<sup>3</sup> As military advisers he had with him Hugh Calverley, William Elmham, Thomas Trevet, all tried captains, if the rank and file had been worthy of their lead, and if the Bishop had been disposed to take advice. But Despenser was headstrong and impatient, and his motley ranks were swelled with troops of friars, priests, and monks.<sup>4</sup> He had undertaken to engage 3,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. But it would seem that at the last only 600 lances and 1,500 others had joined.

Calverley proposed another 'ride' on French soil; but the Bishop, very properly, held that his primary duty was to take relief to the city of Ghent, that clung to the English Alliance;

<sup>1</sup> See the tract, *Crociata*, written about this time; Lechler, I. 708; Lorimer, II. 280.

<sup>2</sup> 31st December 1384; Lewis, 133.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 187, 199, 200-202.

<sup>4</sup> "*Grand foison y avoit de prêtres*"; Froissart, II. 267. "*Cum sacerdotibus et falsis religiosis*"; Eulog. III. 357.



and so, without holding any regular muster, and without waiting for all his men to have crossed the Channel, he unfurled the Banner of the Cross, and advanced to Gravelines. The townspeople closing their gates, an immediate assault was ordered. After an attack of twenty-four hours' duration the place was taken, and sacked in true crusading style, all combatants being put to the sword.<sup>1</sup>

This unprovoked outrage threw all Flanders into a state of consternation. The Count, who was at Lille, sent hastily to demand explanations; he was at peace with England; had received no declaration of war; and he and his subjects were quite inclined to the cause of Urban. After some shuffling the Bishop answered that he held his commission from the Pope, and not from the King of England; that maritime Flanders held of the *Duchesse de Bar*, who was a well-known Clementine; all who would join hands with him, and declare themselves Urbanists, would be spared; against all others he would wage resolute war.<sup>2</sup>

On to Dunkerque the Bishop led his men, the Banner of the Keys fluttering overhead.<sup>3</sup> Dunkerque was again taken by storm and treated much as Gravelines had been treated.<sup>4</sup>

On the afternoon of the next day, as the Bishop was at supper, the approach of a large force was reported. The English turned out without a moment's delay. The archers skirmished in front, while Calverley dressed his slender line behind. With little loss the attack was repulsed. Flushed with this success, the Bishop styled himself the Conqueror of West Flanders. Bergues, Bourbourg, Cassel, Poperinghe successively fell into the hands of the invaders. On the 8th June they attacked Ypres; the suburbs were carried but the inner fortifications held out, and the impatient Bishop had to submit to the tedium of a siege.

On both sides the war now began to enlarge its bounds. An auxiliary army came up from Ghent, while Despenser's numbers were inconveniently swelled by volunteers from home. Every servant and apprentice who could give his master the slip took

<sup>1</sup> 20th May; Higden, IX. 19; Walsingham.

<sup>2</sup> So Froissart, II. 270, 271.

<sup>3</sup> "*La banniere de St. Pierre de gueules a deux clefs d'argent en sautoir*"; Froissart.

<sup>4</sup> Sunday, 24th May; Mon. Evesh. 45; Walsingham, II. 90.

the Cross, free passages being provided by Philpot, who had charge of the Subsidy. At last the Bishop begged to be spared any further reinforcements. On the other hand the French were arming in answer to appeals from the Count; and the 15th of August was appointed for a general muster at Arras.<sup>1</sup> On the 10th August the Crusaders raised the siege of Ypres, and fell back on Bergues and Bourbourg, the rapid concentration of French forces at Arras making it unsafe to tarry longer. Charles VI was advancing with a most imposing array of forces.

Advancing by Saint-Omer and Cassel the French appeared before Bergues on the 7th September. Next day the French entered Bergues, and put the unresisting population to the sword. From Bergues the French turned to Bourbourg (14 September), where a third garrison had been left under Trevet, Elmham, and William Faringdon. They repulsed a general assault with such spirit that the Duke of Brittany was enabled to come forward as a mediator. Through his efforts a capitulation was signed, by which the English in Bourbourg were allowed to retire to Calais, with horses, arms, and all their effects; the French even agreeing to pay them 2,000 gold 'francs' for stores that they could not remove.

One stage more brought Charles to the walls of Gravelines, the Bishop's last foothold in Flanders. But precarious as that footing might seem to be, the French were most anxious to dispossess him of it, and not over-confident as to their ability to do so by force. They offered him 15,000 'francs' to dismantle the place and retire to Calais. A general truce was also offered as a stepping-stone to peace. Despenser accepted the truce, and sent home to say that unless promptly relieved he must abandon his enterprise. Richard resolved that the command of any reliefs for Flanders should be left to John of Gaunt, who in fact had already been appointed King's Lieutenant for France and Flanders. He was instructed to hasten his departure; but before he was ready to sail the Bishop had evacuated Gravelines and returned to England.<sup>2</sup>

For the taxes raised, the half Fifteenth and Tenth yielded

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Oman, *Pol. Hist.* IV. 85, gives the date as 29 September, citing Wrong, *Crusade of 1383*; Genesis, II. 205, 206.

£23,236 1s. The returns of the full Subsidy are wanting, but on the strength of the yield of the next Subsidy granted we may allow £34,000. The Clerical half Tenths produced £12,468 4s. With the war the Customs sink to £36,863 2s. For the actual revenue the Pells show £128,899 2s. 8d.

	£	s.	d.
Pells . . . . .	128,899	2	8

## 7 RICHARD II

1383-1384. The national mortification and indignation at the shipwreck of the Crusade was greatly aggravated by the reports that the leaders had made money by selling their strongholds—rank treachery. In fact the conventions were not only justifiable according to all the laws of war, but actually creditable to the English captains, who had got out of most critical situations with all the honours of war and something more. But the campaign had been a failure, and that was enough to condemn them.

On the 26th October Parliament met at Westminster; and again in the capricious politics of the time we find the proceedings led by a new Chancellor, namely Michael, Lord de la Pole. From the first he had been a follower of the House of Lancaster, and his promotion to the Chancery indicated that John of Gaunt was again coming to the front.

The Chancellor asked for a Subsidy on the ground of the uncertain disposition of the Scots, who had refused to prolong the truce beyond the 2nd February 1384;<sup>1</sup> he reminded the lieges that 'this little realm of England' had to deal with Spain and France as well as Scotland; and that Flanders was newly added to the list of her adversaries,<sup>2</sup> as if in each and every case England had not been signally the aggressor!

The Commons agreed to give a Fifteenth and Tenth to be raised by moieties, and to continue Tunnage and Poundage to Michaelmas 1384, on certain conditions; one being that the clergy should make a corresponding grant; while another was that the Bishop of Norwich and his captains should be called to

<sup>1</sup> An extension of the truce to that date had been negotiated on the 12th July by John of Gaunt; Foed. VII. 403; Rot. Scot. II. 27, &c. On the 20th August Robert II ratified a treaty with France, for operations against England; Foed. IV. 167; VII. 406.

<sup>2</sup> "*Ce petit Roialme d'Engleterre*"; Rot. Parlt. III. 149, 150.

account for their unexpired term of service, and for the moneys improperly received by them from the enemy, alleged to amount to 18,000 gold 'francs'.

"The Commons had been deceived in the Bishop, and, as usually happens in such cases, considered that they had been deceived by him."<sup>1</sup> He was formally impeached in Parliament in the King's presence: he was charged with having received 10,000 francs for the surrender of Gravelines; and he had come home in less than six months, instead of serving for twelve months as stipulated. Despenser positively denied having received any money, but it was proved that a sum of 5,000 francs had been placed in the hands of his treasurer at Gravelines; and that after his departure from Gravelines another sum of 5,000 francs had been delivered to Henry Ferrers on his behalf. After repeated hearings and rehearings the lay Peers held that the Bishop's excuses were insufficient, and sentenced him to 'fine and ransom' at the King's pleasure; pending the settlement of the amount, his temporalities would be taken into hand.

When the Bishop's case was disposed of, the subordinates, who had received 8,000 francs between them, threw themselves on the King's mercy. All were 'amerced' like the Bishop, and in the meantime sent to the Tower.<sup>2</sup> On the 26th November Parliament rose.

It would seem that during the sittings of this Parliament considerable dissensions broke out between the King and the Peers, the latter complaining that Richard kept aloof from the leaders of the nation, taking counsel only of his favourites and acting for himself. The King, we are told, answered them in a very uncompromising spirit. It would seem that the chief minions were Robert de Vere IV, Earl of Oxford; and Thomas Mowbray of Axholm, Earl of Nottingham.

But at last both Government and Parliament were beginning to show a more pacific disposition, at any rate towards France. On the 4th November Lancaster had been authorized to meet the Dukes of Berri and Brittany and the Count of Flanders. The plenipotentiaries met between Calais and Boulogne with little loss of time. But the pretensions of the two adversaries

<sup>1</sup> Trevelyan, *Age of Wycliff*.

<sup>2</sup> "*En la mercy le roi*"; Rot. Parl. III. 152-156; Genesis, II. 207-209.



were as irreconcilable as ever. After much keen discussion a truce was signed to last to the 1st October 1384. The men of Ghent were specially included ; the Scots were not.<sup>1</sup>

Since the death of Edward III the Scots had taken every advantage of the weakness of the English Government. On the 12th January (1384) the Earl of Northumberland was directed to press for immediate payment of the arrears of King David's ransom, amounting to 24,000 marks ; failing satisfaction he was to renew the old demand for homage, under penalty of a resumption of hostilities at the expiration of the truce.<sup>2</sup>

The Scots took Richard at his word. On the 4th February, two days after the expiration of the truce, Lochmaben surrendered to Archibald Douglas of Galloway. John of Gaunt was ordered to take the field at once. Mass levies were summoned from the Eastern and Western Marches ; the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, and all the Northern magnates joined the Duke ; but, as at this very time writs were issued for a Parliament to be held at Salisbury in April, the campaign was foredoomed to a speedy close.

Lancaster eventually crossed the Border about the 4th April. His leisurely advance gave people time to remove everything, to the very thatch on their houses, a precautionary measure that was adopted even by the citizens of Edinburgh. But the weather was most inclement, and the English suffered severely. In ten days' time John led his grumbling discontented host back across the Border.

Meanwhile Lancaster's lax prosecution of the war enabled the Scots to recover Teviotdale, where the people since the battle of Neville's Cross had been living 'at the peace' of the King of England ; they now returned to 'the peace' of their own natural King, Robert II. Thus, apart from Berwick, Roxburgh and Jedburgh were the only holds in Scotland retained by the English.<sup>3</sup>

The Sarum Parliament had been summoned partly to advise

<sup>1</sup> Lelinghem, 26th January 1384 ; Foed. VII. 414-423.

<sup>2</sup> The receipts which had been sent to the Earl were sent back to be cancelled, no money having been paid ; Rot. Scot. II. 57, 59 ; Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, III. lvii. The Earl of Northumberland was Henry Percy, created at Richard's coronation ; Complete Peerage.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 210, 211.



the King on the matter of making peace with France ; partly to obtain payment of the second moiety of the Subsidy voted by the last Parliament, which had been made exigible only in the event of the continuance of actual war.

On the general question of peace or war the Commons gave a clearer indication of feeling than they had done for many years. After conferring with a committee of Lords, they said that if peace could be had with honour, it would be to them ' the greatest comfort in the world that man could devise '. But the homage was still the difficulty ; the French would recognize no English possessions in France except subject to homage. ' What had the Commons to say to that ? ' asked the Chancellor. Determined not to be made the scapegoat of either of the Court parties, they answered firmly that they had been given to understand that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal had been asked the same question, and that their answer was, that, without presuming to give ' counsel or advice ' either way, their inclinations were towards peace rather than war. By that answer, the Commons said, they wished to stand. But whether peace came or war it was felt that a Subsidy must be granted, as the King declared that a final peace could never be ratified without a personal meeting between the two sovereigns, which would involve considerable expenditure. Accordingly, the conditional half Subsidy of the last session was made absolute, to be raised at Michaelmas ; while a third half Subsidy was conceded to be collected at Lady Day (25 March) 1385, if the war should be resumed, and provided always that the clergy should make corresponding grants. The clergy protested at this stipulation, but eventually both Convocations met, and granted half Tenths.

It is probable that in these discussions the peace party had the support of John of Gaunt, who wished to keep the resources of the nation for the prosecution of his private schemes in Castile ; and his faint-hearted conduct of the Scottish war may be ascribed to the same reason.

According to one writer the session witnessed a violent and apparently unprovoked attack on the King by the Earl of Arundel, as if in continuance of the scenes of the last session. He declared that Richard's Ministers were incapable, and that through their fault the country was going to the dogs. Richard,

losing his temper, called the Earl a liar, and told him to go to the devil. After a pause John of Gaunt rose and succeeded in restoring peace.<sup>1</sup>

Parliament having shown such an unmistakable wish for peace, on the last day of the session (27 May) Lancaster and Buckingham were authorized to treat for peace with Flanders and France. Some days later the Northern magnates were authorized to arrange an interim truce with the Scots, to facilitate negotiations for peace. All the powers interested, namely France, England, Scotland, and Castile were duly represented at the conferences that ensued at Lelingham (August-September). But the French were beginning to raise their heads again, and the English were greatly disconcerted by the firmness of their tone; a paltry renewal of the truce to the 1st May 1385 was all that Lancaster could obtain; and this, under the circumstances, amounted to a prospective declaration of war.<sup>2</sup>

The half Subsidies granted this year yielded the one £16,872 os. 10d., and the other £17,017 7s. 8d.; representing a whole Subsidy as worth £33,889 8s. 6d. The half Tenths voted by the clergy were returned at £5,952 18s. 5d. The Customs rise to £69,856 12s., the biggest return of the reign.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	149,439	2	1

## 8 RICHARD II

1384-1385. On the 12th November Parliament met, to be greeted with the unwelcome news that the truce would expire on the 1st May. The only thing the Chancellor could say to cheer the lieges was that the King had graciously made up his mind to face the labour and discomfort of a personal campaign; and that he would go whithersoever his Council should advise him to go. Parliament thankfully acknowledged this readiness on the King's part, and, in consideration of his first 'voyage', agreed to confirm the conditional half Subsidy granted in the last Parliament, and to give another half Subsidy to be raised at Midsummer (1385). An attempt to make these grants again

<sup>1</sup> Malvern, Higden, IX. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 212-215.

dependent on the concession of corresponding grants by the clergy elicited so vigorous a protest from Archbishop Courtenay that the King immediately ordered the obnoxious stipulation to be expunged.

The Archbishop, however, having been satisfied upon this point, Convocations met and gave half Tenths.

The last days of the session were troubled with the news that the Scots, notwithstanding the truce, had again managed to seize Berwick Castle. Northumberland hurried off to retrieve his laurels, and soon recovered Berwick. But it was said that to save time he gave the Scots 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s. 8d.) to march out.<sup>1</sup>

A struggle for the emancipation of the City from the monopoly of the Free Fishmongers, led to incidents suggestive of a general state of chaos. De la Pole the Chancellor was apparently a Free Trader; at any rate he was considered a hostile personage by the Fishmongers, as we are told that he had been attacked by them, and charged with having taken money to expedite a suit in Chancery. Richard, on the other hand, favoured the Fishmongers, and by improper intervention had procured the election of their champion, Nicholas Brembre, as Mayor of London. We next hear of the champion of the Free Traders, the late Mayor, John Northampton, being brought before the King at Reading on a trumped-up accusation. He not only repelled the charge with scorn but ventured to demur to the King's jurisdiction, on the plea that he, Northampton, was Lancaster's 'man'. Richard, beside himself with fury at this rejection of his authority, would have sent the ex-Mayor to immediate execution, had not the Queen, who always accompanied him, fallen on her knees and begged the man's life. After a further trial before an irregular court held in the Tower, Northampton was forfeited and sent to Corfe Castle.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1385 opened amid rumours of impending invasion from abroad, and actual dissensions at home. The King and his young favourites were again charged with compassing the death of John of Gaunt.<sup>3</sup> We are told, that Lancaster having ventured to tax Richard with sluggishness, if not poltroonery, in shirking

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 215, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 213, 216-218.

<sup>3</sup> For the earlier incident see id. 214.

war, a tournament was arranged to be held in Westminster Hall, when the Duke might be seized and arraigned of High Treason. Warned in time, John called out his men, and then appeared in force on the banks of the Thames at Twickenham, opposite Sheen, i. e. Richmond—where the King was. Crossing with only an escort sufficient for his personal safety, he proceeded to lecture Richard on his misgovernment and his base attempt on his uncle's life. The King endeavoured to put him off with smooth words and fair promises, but the Duke declared that until he saw the King in better hands he must not be expected to attend Court; and therewith marched off to Hertford Castle, where he took up an independent position. But the Princess of Wales, distracted at hearing of the breach between her son and his uncles, hastened to come forward; through her efforts Richard and Lancaster were induced to meet and make friends at Westminster on the 6th March, in the midst of a concourse of magnates.<sup>1</sup>

The next thing was a breach with Archbishop Courtenay. Richard, not content with the two half Tenths granted in the autumn, called on the Primate to summon another Convocation. Courtenay protested energetically. But Richard, sticking to his purpose, named the days for meeting, a breach of constitutional etiquette which required the choice of the days to be left to the Archbishops. Courtenay summoned a Convocation, not for the King's day, but for one named by himself—but failed to appear, and so nothing was done. Of course, Richard was enraged beyond measure. We have a graphic account of a meeting on the Thames between the King and Courtenay, the latter being on his way to Court under the safe conduct of the Earl of Buckingham. Richard actually drew his sword on the Archbishop, and when checked, laid about him so frantically that his attendants had to jump into the Archbishop's barge to get out of his reach. Courtenay for a time actually had to go into hiding.<sup>2</sup>

By this time Richard had abundantly shown that there could be little sympathy between him and any class of his subjects.

An extension of the truce with France to 1st July—but no further—had been obtained. The expedition that might have

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 218, 219.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 228-230. The Primate was not restored to favour till the next Parliament, and then had to beg pardon of the King on his knees.



been employed in forestalling threatened invasion from abroad, had to be directed to another quarter. The 1st July having passed, liberal subventions in men and money were sent by the French to Leith. Robert II was at a distance in the North; but his sons without hesitation took the field; captured Carham, Wark, and Ford-on-Tweed, and pushed an inroad as far as Morpeth, and then fell back on Jedburgh and the Western Marches, leaving the way by the east coast open.

Richard named the 14th July for a grand muster at Newcastle. Unprecedented were the numbers that appeared in honour of the King's first appearance in the field. So say the chroniclers; and the muster Rolls, which fortunately have been preserved, bear out the assertion. The extraordinary muster comprised 4,590 men-at-arms and 9,144 archers, exclusive of the contingents of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.<sup>1</sup>

On the 6th August Richard unfurled his standard on hostile soil. In honour of the day a great distribution of titled honours took place. The Earl of Cambridge was created Duke of York; the Earl of Buckingham Duke of Gloucester; and the faithful de la Pole Earl of Suffolk.

The campaign witnessed another devastation of Lothian. The English marched without opposition by the usual route, and laid the Abbeys of Dryburgh, Melrose, and Newbattle in ashes. Holyrood was spared; but the city of Edinburgh, reported by the French as a poor town of about 400 houses, was burnt, including St. Giles'; the Castle, however, held out. By the 20th August the King had returned to Newcastle. Meanwhile the Scots had harried all the coast-line of Cumberland.

Thus ended the Scottish invasion, the only military operation in which Richard ever took part.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the revenue, the returns of the third half Subsidy voted in the previous year do not appear to be forthcoming, but on the average of the two previous half Subsidies we may allow £16,900. The clerical half Tenths came to £8,564 1s.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	182,384	5	8

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cott. Nero D. VI. 91; printed Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 295, 437. Lancaster furnished about one-third of the whole force.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 130-136.



## 9 RICHARD II

1385-1386. On the 20th October a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster, and John of Gaunt at last obtained a formal sanction for his long-talked-of 'voyage' to Spain. The 'door' by way of Portugal had, strange to say, again been opened up.

When the Earl of Cambridge came home in 1382 he left the Infanta Beatrix finally engaged, as was supposed, to the second son of Juan I, the son of Enrique of Trastamare. But Juan, having lost his wife, took the heiress of Portugal for himself, supplanting his son. On the 22nd October (1383) Fernando died, whereupon Juan at once laid claim to the throne of Portugal. But national feelings and racial antipathies of long standing could not be so ignored. The Portuguese would have no Castilian to rule over them; and they set up a natural brother of the late King, João, or John, Grand Master of Avis. An English contingent helped the Portuguese to win the decisive victory of Aljubarrota (14th August 1385); and when Parliament met, Portuguese envoys were in London begging for further support.

Rumours of French invasion being still rife, the Chancellor in his opening speech pointed out that the best safeguard against invasion at home, was a vigorous prosecution of the war abroad. The Houses agreed, and made a liberal grant of a Subsidy and a half; the money to be received by commissioners named by themselves, and expended wholly on 'wars to come'—an odd stipulation, considering the aspirations after peace and the repudiation of all responsibility for the Duke's enterprises, so recently expressed. But the Parliaments of those days were infirm of purpose. On the one hand the 'way' by Portugal had been pressed upon them, as the likeliest to lead to 'final' peace; while on the other hand we have seen the desperate lengths to which the King and his young friends were prepared to go, to get rid of the hateful Duke.

The wool duties that would expire at Midsummer (24 June 1386) were renewed for a year, but only for a year, to run from the 1st August, both Lords and Commons again insisting on a break, as a precedent for future refusal. De la Pole also intimated an intention of abolishing the Calais Staple, in the

interests of the revenue which were said to suffer from it. Parliament again approved; while the King also agreed with the Houses in thinking that the facilities for emancipation offered to 'natives' by the chartered towns were too great, and ought to be curtailed. But the King and Parliament were far from being at one on all points; and when the Commons asked for an annual 'view' of the state of the Household, Richard answered that he would consent to such an inquiry when he pleased; and again, in answer to a request for the names of his officers for the coming year, he replied that he was quite satisfied with his present servants but would change them when he chose.<sup>1</sup>

The Roll of the Parliament records confirmation of the honours already conferred in honour of the Scottish campaign. Suitable endowments were also provided; the Dukes of York and Gloucester received £1,000 a year in tail male, and the Earl of Suffolk £500 a year for his life. These were not abnormal grants. Not so the extravagant distinctions lavished upon the King's prime favourite Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He was exalted to a marquisate, a title previously unknown in England. On the 1st December he was created Marquis of Dublin, with an absolute grant of all regalian rights, great and small, over the Dominion of Ireland, the King moreover undertaking to defray all the expenses of government for the first two years. The grant of such honours and emoluments to an untried youth, only twenty-three years old, in face of recent protests against the alienation of Crown rights, amounted to a declaration of war on the Commons.<sup>2</sup>

Among the miscellaneous matters of business apparently transacted in this Parliament, the recognition of the young Earl of March, Roger Mortimer III, Philippa's son, as heir presumptive to the Crown, should not be overlooked.<sup>3</sup>

Parliament had not made over the whole proceeds of the Subsidy to John of Gaunt. Three 'wars' had been specially sanctioned; namely, the relief of Ghent, the defence of the Scottish March, and the 'voyage' to Castile. On the 8th December Hugh le Despenser and William Drayton were instructed to take 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers to Ghent.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 226-228.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 224, 228.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 229.

But Ghent had come to terms with the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> The relief intended for Ghent was sent to Berwick. The Scots, however, had no wish for further hostilities; negotiations were opened in January 1386, and eventually a truce was signed to the 31st May 1387.

John of Gaunt's undertaking was thus left in undisputed possession of the field. Twenty thousand marks (£13,333 6s. 8d.) had been assigned to the Duke from the Treasury with the consent of Parliament. A further sum of 20,000 marks was now advanced by the King.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th February (1386) a treaty was sealed between Richard and John, in which the King bound his uncle to repay this advance, and also to come to no terms with his 'Adversary of Castile' without exacting compensation for past damages to English shipping, and, moreover, requiring the Adversary to pledge himself to perpetual friendship and alliance with England. Clearly Richard's sager advisers—shall we say Michael de la Pole?—had little faith in the enterprise; and, anticipating some petty "transaction" or compromise as the most likely outcome, were anxious to safeguard England's interests.

All England rang with the din of Lancaster's preparations. The spiritual arm was not neglected either. In March 1382 Urban VI had deposed Juan I. A year later he conferred the Crown of Castile on John of Gaunt, with all the rights and privileges of a Crusade for winning it.

On Easter Day (22 April 1386) John and Costanza took formal leave of the King and Queen, and were presented with golden crowns by them. In due course of time, and with the usual procrastination, John mustered his forces at Plymouth (June). If he had 2,000 men-at-arms and as many archers it would represent a first-class Royal army of the time. But all the English shipping that could be got together was not equal to the transport of the force, and they had to await the arrival of a promised Portuguese fleet. On the 30th June the squadron arrived. On the 8th July the wind blew fair and the whole flotilla put out to sea. A junction with the allied forces of Portugal, flushed with the success of Aljubarrota, would have

<sup>1</sup> Louis de Maël had passed away 9th January 1384.

<sup>2</sup> Richard borrowed the marks; Cal. Pat. Rolls 9 Rich. p. 147.

seemed the natural course for one aspiring to the conquest of Castile to take. But John preferred to act alone, and directed his fleet to the harbour of Corunna, where he landed apparently on the 8th of August. After a pause of a month Lancaster moved his quarters to Santiago; friendly communications had been kept up with Portugal, and solemn challenges addressed to Castile; these last were accepted in the proper spirit, as openings for negotiation and palaver. At Santiago the English remained all through the autumn and winter, no attempt being made to secure any advantage while the force was still fresh and intact.

While John of Gaunt was thus wasting England's resources on a solemn farce, the people at home were again beginning to tremble for their hearths and homes. Negotiations for an extension of the truce with France from the 1st July had failed. The Duke of Burgundy, burning to avenge the Crusading invasion of the Bishop of Norwich, had persuaded his nephew Charles VI, a lad of seventeen, to embark on preparations for an armament on the largest scale for an invasion of England. Taxes were raised, vast stores were accumulated, and shipping gathered from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Lastly, a cantonment of wooden huts, made of the finest oak from Normandy and Brittany, was constructed, all carefully fitted to be carried over and set up as a fortified base-camp on English soil. By the 11th August Charles was on the move for the trysting-place at Sluys, and the English Government had fairly realized their danger. Orders were issued in quick succession for calling out levies, arming the coasts, setting up beacons, and raising loans from clergy and towns. Wild rumours flew from mouth to mouth, and London was reduced to a perfect state of panic.

Meanwhile the French came not. Charles, having reached Sluys, remained on shore, waiting for troops under his other uncle, the Duke of Berri. On the other hand the English assumed the offensive. Young Henry Percy, the celebrated "Hotspur", sallying from Calais, captured Cassel and Bourbourg; English cruisers cut into the French flotilla; a Breton squadron under the Constable de Clisson, carrying part of the wooden camp, was intercepted off Sandwich; the huts were landed and set up as trophies on the shore. Not till the 14th October did the Duke



of Berri reach Sluys, and then of course the season for campaigning was past, and the expedition had to be adjourned for another year.

With respect to the revenue, the returns of the Subsidy and a half voted in October do not appear to be forthcoming, but on the strength of the yield of previous grants of the same we may allow £49,789. The Customs, in an atmosphere of war, naturally sink, namely to £39,890 12s. 4d., but with the liberal grants of the last two years the year's revenue reaches a sum only twice exceeded so far, and not again to be reached.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	190,900	16	8

## 10 RICHARD II

1386-1387. In England the alarm of French invasion had hardly passed away when a session of Parliament was opened, namely on the 1st October. With this Parliament "the clearer and more dramatic action of the reign begins".<sup>1</sup> The retirement of John of Gaunt left Richard exposed to the attacks of a formidable and determined baronial opposition, which included Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Derby<sup>2</sup>—"a man of much greater craft than his father"—Archbishop Courtenay, and Arundel's brother, Thomas of Arundel, Bishop of Ely. Thomas Mowbray of Axholm, the King's young friend, had recently been created Earl of Nottingham. But he had married Arundel's sister, and so had been persuaded, for a time, to change sides. Both lower clergy and Commons were said to sympathize with the opposition. Richard's intense unpopularity is the salient fact of the time; and for this his intolerable autocratic and personal pretensions, his utter contempt for the rights and feelings of his subjects, and his want of self-control and outrageous behaviour to men of the highest rank, would fully account. But it is clear that there was another charge—in our eyes Richard's chief claim to our respect, but in the eyes of his own people a weighty accusation—namely that, from whatever

<sup>1</sup> Lords' Report; Bishop Stubbs.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, created Earl of Derby in 1385; Complete Peerage.



motives, he wished for peace with France, and was prepared to make considerable sacrifices for the sake of peace. But the country did not see it.<sup>1</sup> The offending of the Second Edward had been against the aristocracy. The Second Richard united high and low against himself.<sup>2</sup>

The Chancellor, as usual, opened the proceedings in the King's presence, and explained that the principal cause of the summons of the Parliament was the King's 'spontaneous purpose of crossing the sea in person'. The Chancellor frankly admitted that one main consideration that had 'moved the King to his purpose' was the prevalence of rumours that he shrank from personal exertion. He concluded by asking for a grant, if for nothing else, at any rate for the defence of the realm from the 'imminent perils' of invasion.

The King's offer to cross the sea must have sounded little short of a mockery. But before the Houses had resolved on any definite step, Richard gave his enemies their opportunity by a further act of deplorable indiscretion. The Marquis of Dublin had not yet condescended to visit his Dominion; but, as if his merits had not yet been adequately rewarded, on the 13th October Richard made him Duke of Ireland.

"Immediately the storm arose." The King was the offender, but he could only be attacked through his Ministers, however guiltless they might be. Both Houses demanded the dismissal of the Chancellor as well as that of the Treasurer, John Fordham, Bishop of Durham. The King retired to Eltham, and told the Houses to mind their own business. The Parliament answered that unless de la Pole was dismissed, and the King came back to Westminster, they would not proceed to any further business. Richard then suggested that forty members of the House of Commons should be sent to confer with him at Eltham. Instead, the Duke of Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock) and Bishop Arundel presented themselves. In the name of the whole community they tendered an humble address at length on Parliamentary rights over the conduct of affairs and the expendi-

<sup>1</sup> See Higden, IX. 103 (Malvern), our primary authority at this period.

<sup>2</sup> "*Re vera Rex infensus erat non solum militibus Parlamentalibus sed paene cunctis proceribus*"; Walsingham, II. 149; see also pp. 148, 150. Richard was not only unpopular, but even an object of contempt.

ture of public money. 'Nay,' they said, 'there was another old statute which not so long ago had been put in force, that if the King should not be willing to be governed by the laws and ordinances of the realm, with the wholesome advice of the lords and peers of the same, then it should be lawful for them, with common assent and consent of the people of the realm, to depose the King from the royal throne, and elevate in his place some near kinsman of the Royal line.'<sup>1</sup>

This unmistakable reference to the fate of Edward II frightened Richard; he returned to Westminster, and dismissed the obnoxious Ministers. Next day Bishop Arundel became Chancellor and Gilbert of Hereford Treasurer. A formal impeachment of the Earl of Suffolk followed. Seven articles were preferred. The only points ultimately pressed against him were those taxing him with having taken advantage of his position to obtain Crown grants upon advantageous terms; and he virtually disposed of these by asking why a higher standard of morality should be applied to him than to any other officer of the Crown. He made a vigorous defence; but the King was forced to condemn him to fine and ransom, with imprisonment in the meantime. Needless to say that he was submitted to no incarceration. After a brief relegation to Windsor he was recalled to Westminster for the Christmas festivities.<sup>2</sup>

The necessary supply could not now be withheld, but it was cut down to the grant of two half Subsidies; one to be raised at Candlemas, and the other at Michaelmas; with a prolongation of the Customs' duties from the 1st August to the 25th December (1387). The surtaxes on wine and general merchandise (T. and P.) were raised to 3s. the tun, and 12d. the £1 of goods; while the wool duties were prolonged to the same date. The Convocation of Canterbury following suit granted two half Tenths, the Northern Province later, under pressure, granted one half Tenth.<sup>3</sup> But the Opposition thought themselves strong enough to take a further step in imitation of the acts of the Good Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 497, from Knighton, Cont.: "It is needless to say that there was no such statute." For the threat see also Rot. Parl. III. 350, where it is stated that Gloucester and Arundel took the precaution of delivering the message through a third party, "*une grant persone Pere de la Terre*"; also id. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II, 235-238.

<sup>3</sup> Wake, 319.

Supply was only granted on the express condition of the King's giving his consent to the appointment of an executive Commission of eleven lords, to hold office for a year to regulate the Royal Household and revenue, both as to receipts and expenditure, and, generally, to control the administration. They would act in conjunction with the new Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal, the latter being John Waltham, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. On the 1st December the appointment was formally published as a statute. The Council, however, was by no means one-sided in its composition, including as it did five prelates, among them William of Wykeham, and Neville of York, a devoted friend to the King. But for the first time in the history of our reforming Commissions, the Great Seal was in the hands of a devoted member of the Opposition; their authority therefore would be real. Alive to the fact, Richard, the day before the session closed, came forward to declare by his own word of mouth<sup>1</sup>—an unusual circumstance—that his intention was 'that for nothing done in that Parliament should any prejudice arise to himself, or his Crown, or prerogative'. The King goes out of his way to proclaim that he does not intend to abide by unpalatable concessions made to his subjects. In this connexion we may point out that in his answer to the first prayer of the Commons' petition, which, as usual, was for the observance of the statutes and charters, the words used were "*Le Roy le voet sauvent sa prerogative*",<sup>2</sup> the saving of the prerogative being quite novel.

The Opposition, appreciating the dangers of a pacific policy, were determined not to fall into that mistake, and they wisely resolved on naval operations. On the 10th December the Earl of Arundel was again appointed Admiral of the West and North. Ravaging attacks on the French coasts must have been the operations originally contemplated, but an accident enabled the Earl to capture the great spring wine fleet from La Rochelle to Sluys. Fifty prizes were taken into the Orwell, besides others sunk or burnt. Arundel himself followed up the advantage by occupying Sluys and seizing all the shipping there. He afterwards sailed to Brest and revictualled the place, still held by the English, though under siege by the French. Towards Mid-

<sup>1</sup> "*Par sa bouche demesne.*" Rot. Parlt. III. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 221; Genesis, II. 238-240.

summer Arundel returned to England 'with blessings of the common folk' (*plebanorum*).<sup>1</sup>

The Executive having its head-quarters in London, Richard and his friends betook themselves to a round of the provinces in the hope of beating up a country party, as against Gloucester and the Opposition. His circle included De la Pole, Archbishop Neville of York, Simon Burley, and the Duke of Ireland. Councils were held at Reading, Woodstock, and Nottingham. From Cheshire the King passed into North Wales, and from thence came back to the Welsh March, surrounding himself with a Welsh bodyguard. An emissary was sent into East Anglia to enlist adherents and distribute badges, crowns of silver and silver gilt. Here we may trace the inception of the great White Hart conspiracy against popular rights, of which we shall hear more.

Instead of abiding the expiry of the twelvemonth for which the Executive Commission had been appointed, Richard very rashly conceived the idea of procuring legal opinion as to the legality of their appointment and the validity of their powers. Questions to that effect were first submitted to the Judges at Shrewsbury, and again more formally, on the 25th August, at Nottingham.

The Chief Justices Tresilian and Bealknap, the Puisne Judges Holt, Fulthorp and de Burgh, and John Lokton, Serjeant-at-law (under compulsion as they afterwards said), in answer to ten questions addressed to them declared that the Commission was derogatory to the Royal prerogative; and that all who had either procured it or stirred the King to consent to it deserved capital punishment: that Parliament had no power to impeach his officers without his consent. They further agreed that the person who moved for the production of the 'statute' of condemnation passed on Edward II was guilty of treason; and that the 'judgment' passed on Suffolk was 'erroneous and revocable'.

It is needless to remark that these opinions were "servile and unconstitutional".<sup>2</sup> We cannot but hold that the appointment of such a Council was not by any means beyond the powers of Parliament. At the same time it is very likely that fourteenth-century opinion had little fault to find with the Judges' law.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam.



Anyhow their ruling made the political breach incurable, and reduced the situation to a game of heads.

Armed with this enunciation of constitutional law, to be kept secret till the time for producing it might arrive, Richard went on with his military preparations, making every effort to enlist men either as loyal followers or hired mercenaries, but with little success, the sheriffs assuring him that they could promise him no support against the Council. So matters went on to the end of our year, the parties keeping at arm's length, but the King gaining ground in London through the agency of the late Mayor Brembre.<sup>1</sup>

The Enrolled Accounts of the half Subsidies are wanting, but the Pells show sums amounting to £14,000 and £15,000. The Canterbury half Tenths yielded £7,279 14s. 8d.; but the yield of the York half Tenth is not forthcoming. The Customs yield £58,844 8s. 5d., one of the very highest returns of the reign.

Revenue: £111,775 13s. 8d., a considerable reduction on last year.

## II RICHARD II

1387-1388. On the 10th November the King at last found himself strong enough to enter London, and to enter it in state. The civic authorities received him in robes of scarlet and white—the Royal colours—and escorted him as far as the Mews at Charing Cross. At Westminster he found the Abbot and monks at the door of the palace, waiting to take him to the Abbey for a solemn intercession. Dismounting, he walked barefoot to offer at the high altar.<sup>2</sup>

Encouraged by his reception by the Londoners, Richard next day sent messages to Gloucester and Arundel, commanding their attendance. They declined; whereupon a proclamation was issued forbidding the supply of provisions, or arms of any kind to Arundel. At any rate Richard began so clearly to disclose hostile intentions, that Gloucester from Essex, and Arundel from Surrey, hastened to join forces with Warwick at Haringay, the three removing next day to Waltham. Informed of this, Richard at once sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 244.



of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and John Waltham, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to demand explanations (14th November). The Earls answered by denouncing the King's friends, and insisting that Neville, de Vere, de la Pole, Tresilian, and Brembre should be placed in custody, to answer any charges that might be brought against them in Parliament. The mediating Lords laboured diligently to induce the three to leave their camp and present themselves to the King as loyal subjects, and, at last, prevailed on them so to do. On the 17th November Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel rode to Westminster with the modest escort of 300 horsemen. Entering the Hall, they thrice prostrated themselves before the King, seated on his throne; rising to their feet, they justified the manner of their appearance by the need of protection against their enemies, namely the King's supporters. They ended by praying him to listen to a statement on their part to be read out by Scrope. Richard having assented, Scrope produced a fresh impeachment of the Five, requiring them to be placed under arrest to await the next Parliament. Forced to temporize, Richard assented; took the case into his own hand, and named the 3rd February for the meeting of Parliament. Four out of the five threatened men at once absconded. De Vere posted down to the North, to take charge of the troops being raised in Cheshire and Lancashire; Neville, Suffolk, and Tresilian hid themselves; only Brembre could be found.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th November, the day when the Executive Commission came to an end, Richard was forced to issue a proclamation entirely absolving Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick of treasonable intentions, and recognizing that they had been 'defamed' by his advisers—namely the Five. At the same time he took these under his protection, and forbade all hostile action on either side pending the meeting of Parliament.

This declaration was accepted on both sides as an armistice giving time for further preparation. Strenuous efforts were made to bring the King to terms with the Opposition. He either flatly rejected every suggestion made, or, if he gave in to anything, failed to keep his word. On one point, however, he was consistently inflexible, namely that of the case of the Duke of Ireland. He would listen to nothing against him. From the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 244, 245.

evident prominence of this man's name in the negotiations, it would seem that if Richard had only consented to discard his favourite, a compromise might have been patched up.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the King being incorrigible, recourse to arms was unavoidable. Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick went down to join the Earls of Derby and Nottingham in making arrangements for intercepting de Vere on his march to London. De Vere was reported to be advancing from Evesham; entering Oxfordshire at Burford, he made for Radcote bridge on the Thames, but only to find the passage barred by the Earl of Derby. Pressing on down the left bank of the river, next day he encountered Arundel drawn out in force at Witney. De Vere having unfurled the King's banner and the banner of St. George as for action, the Earls issued proclamations, disclaiming any intention of fighting against the King, and warning the Duke's men that if they fought they would be fighting for traitors and against the King. With this view of the case laid before them de Vere's force broke up, the men declaring that they had simply been enlisted for the protection of the Duke of Ireland, and not at all for fighting, much less fighting for traitors. De Vere galloped off, and under cover of nightfall crossed the Thames at Bablock Hythe, just outside Oxford. All his valuables, treasure, and correspondence with the King fell into the hands of his adversaries (20 December). Next day apparently the five Earls entered Oxford.

From Oxford the Duke of Ireland easily made his way to join the King at Windsor. Both being conscious that England could no longer hold him, he was sent down to Queenborough, and from thence shipped to Flanders, never to reappear in English history.<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop of York had escaped to the North, but was arrested by the scrutineers on board a ship at Shields, being found with bullion to the amount of £30 on him. Ultimately he was allowed to escape, and died "serving a small cure in Flanders". Suffolk, disguised as a merchant, had gone over to Calais, having a brother Edward established there in business. But the brother gave him up to the captain, and the captain sent him back to his native Hull. The Council sent for him, but

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 245, 246.

<sup>2</sup> Higden, IX. 112. De Vere died in 1392, at Louvain, of a wound received from a boar whilst out hunting; Walsingham, II. 212; Leland Coll. I. 186.

he managed to escape, and died in Paris 5th September 1389. Tresilian, with less judgment, thought to tide over the storm in a temporary hiding-place.

The Earls, having considered their plans, resolved to march on London to see the King and come to an understanding with him. He meanwhile moved from Windsor to the Tower, proposing to quarter his followers as well within as without the walls, *ad libitum*. He was met by a firm protest from the Mayor and Aldermen, who maintained that even at coronation times accommodation had been found for all without Royal billeting.<sup>1</sup> On the 27th December the Lords appeared in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, with their forces drawn out as in battle array. The civic authorities found themselves in a great strait; they durst not defy the Lords, yet to make common cause with them would involve high treason. Acting cautiously, Exton the Mayor and the Aldermen went out to greet them in friendly spirit, bringing supplies of bread and cheese and beer for the men, and so prevailed on them to disarm and accept of quarters in the suburbs. Next day the Lords addressed a peremptory message to the King, requiring the production of the impeached 'traitors' or else warrants for their apprehension. Richard answered bluntly that he knew of no 'traitors'—other than those who impugned them. These continuing peremptory, the Duke of York and the Earl of Northumberland succeeded in arranging for a meeting. On the 30th December the Lords entered the City with 500 horse, and, after calling at the Guild Hall to apologize for entering the City in arms, they proceeded to the Tower. Elaborate precautions against treachery were taken by the Lords; the keys of the Tower were delivered to them, and they were allowed to search the premises, their men surrounding the Tower and even keeping guard on the river, lest the King should give them the slip. Entering the Tower, they found the King seated on his throne, in the open air, at the door of a pavilion or portable chapel, draped with cloth of gold. After the now established triple 'prostrations', the parties retired to the chapel, when Richard had again to endure a lecture on his misdeeds, delivered in very plain language: he had broken faith with the Lords; was compassing their deaths; and shielding the

<sup>1</sup> "*Absque assignatione*"; Higden, 113; Genesis, II, 248.

proscribed 'traitors'. Once more he was threatened with deposition: the heir presumptive, recognized in the last Parliament, was there at hand, a charming lad of thirteen,<sup>1</sup> who would willingly be guided by them. Aghast at this suggestion, Richard could only promise to do as they wished, at the same time idiotically betraying the hollowness of his professions by 'saving his Crown and Royal dignity'. Again he was told that if he would retain Crown or dignity there must be no shuffling.

Feeling that they had sinned beyond forgiveness, and were committed to a life and death struggle with Richard, the Earls, or Appellants as we may begin to call them, evidently thought that their only chance of safety lay in drawing the serpent's fangs, and reducing the King to impotency by ostracizing all those who might be expected to give him comfort or support—a hopeless scheme. For the time, however, Richard had to give in.

On the 31st December the King left the Tower for Westminster, when, to please the reforming public, the Royal Household was overhauled and the establishment largely cut down. On the 1st January 1388 a Grand Council was held, when the King was forced to give his assent to two proscription lists. The first, dealing with men impeached for treason and to be cast into prison, included, besides the original Five, Simon Burley, the Constable of Dover; John, Lord Beauchamp of Holt,<sup>2</sup> Steward of the Household, with five knights and three clerks. The second list banished from Court the Bishops of Durham and Chichester, the latter a Dominican and the King's Confessor; the Lords de la Zouche of Haringworth, Lovel, Beaumont, Burnel, and Camoys; Aubrey de Vere (Robert's uncle and heir); also the Ladies Mohun, Poynings, and Molyneux, besides knights and esquires of less note.<sup>3</sup> For carrying on the work of government the Bishops of Winchester and Bath, and the Lords Cobham, Scrope, and Devereux were appointed as a committee, to assist the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal, appointed the year before.

On the 3rd February the 'Merciless Parliament'<sup>4</sup> met at

<sup>1</sup> Roger Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March.

<sup>2</sup> Created on the 10th October by patent.

<sup>3</sup> The Ladies Mohun and Poynings had been admitted of the Garter; Beltz, ccxxi; Genesis, II. 243-250.

<sup>4</sup> "*Vocatur . . . Parliamentum sine misericordia*"; Knighton, Cont. 2701.



Westminster. When the Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, had concluded his opening speech, and the roll of names had been called, Gloucester came forward, and, kneeling before the King, offered to clear himself of any intention of making himself King; Richard declared himself entirely satisfied of his uncle's good faith; the Commons were adjourned for a week, and then the King and Lords retired for business to the White Chamber. The five 'Lords Appellants', namely Gloucester, Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, then produced their 'appeal' against the five 'traitors' originally denounced. The bill contained thirty-nine charges, some counts being common to all, some peculiar to individuals. The only substantial charges were those connected with the attempts to subvert the Parliamentary Commission, including the questions put to the judges, which were set out in full, with the answers. The other charges were of the wild, exaggerated, intangible character common to all political trials in those days. The accused had taken advantage of the youth and innocence of the King; they had ruled him for their own purposes; had kept him from the sight of his lords and liege people; had intrigued with the 'French', &c.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the extrajudicial appeal to the Judges, it was a rash, foolish step, but it does not seem to have constituted any offence known to the law; and, with respect to that and the other charges, where anything objectionable had taken place, the King himself was the man to blame. The only subject against whom proceedings could really be justified was de Vere; his evil influence over the King made his banishment a necessity.

The proceedings of the day ended with the formal citation of Neville, de Vere, Suffolk, and Tresilian, only Brembre being as yet in custody. On the 4th February the bill of appeal was laid by the King's order before the Judges, Serjeants, and 'sages' of the law, who declared 'that it was not conformable to either law', i. e. Common Law or Civil Law. The Lords answered that the realm of England never had been, and by their consent never should be, governed by the Civil Law; and that a matter of such high concern could only be determined in Parliament, and by the 'law and course of Parliament'; and that Parliament, being

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III, 228-236; see also Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 503.



supreme judge, could not be bound by the forms in use in lower courts, whose duty was simply to see to the observance of the ancient laws and customs of the realm, and the ordinances and establishments of Parliament. They determined, therefore, the King acquiescing, that the appeal was well and sufficiently made and affirmed.

This decision established a precedent for that worst incident of English Parliamentary government, the Bill of Attainder.<sup>1</sup>

The absentees having been thrice formally summoned, the Appellants pressed for sentence by default. But the King, who, throughout, maintained a persistent but ineffectual struggle on behalf of his friends, insisted that an 'honourable and profitable' judgment could not be passed without examination of the facts. Nine days were devoted to this task. On the 13th February the Lords found that fourteen of the counts contained treason, and that all the absentees were guilty. De Vere, Suffolk, and Tresilian were condemned to be drawn and hanged; Neville 'to forfeit his temporalities and to await further judgment'.

On the 17th February Brembre was brought from the Tower and arraigned; he denied all guilt, and claimed his right of battle wager as a knight. The Peers, however, ruled that the issue of 'battle' would not lie in such a case—the Commons supporting them—and they resigned themselves to a fresh examination as to the facts touching "Sir Nicholas". Pending this investigation Tresilian was detected, apprehended, and arraigned. He made no defence and was forthwith sentenced and executed.<sup>2</sup> On the 20th Brembre was condemned and executed. On the 2nd March the Judges who had given the opinions at Shrewsbury and Nottingham were brought before Parliament and impeached by the Commons. On the 6th March they were found guilty of treason and sentenced to be drawn and hanged; but, on the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Queen Anne, the King was allowed to remit the capital penalty.

<sup>1</sup> See the comment in the Eulogium, III. 366: "*Videlicet si parliamentum aliquem appellaret de crimine, quia cum parlamento pugnare non posset, sine ratione damnaretur*"; Genesis, II. 251-252.

<sup>2</sup> 19th February; Rot. Parl. III. 238. He was concealed in disguise in an apothecary's house within the precincts; Knighton, Cont. 2726; Stow, London, 303. He had £80 on him at the time; Receipt Roll, Mich., 12 Rich. II; the money was paid into the Treasury on the 12th February.

The next cases taken up were those of Burley, Salisbury, and Berners (12th March). But the only overt act alleged against any one of them was that Burley had brought the Mayor of Dover to the King at Sheen, after the 17th December, to consult about raising men.<sup>1</sup>

The investigation of these charges brought the session to the 20th March—Friday before Palm-Sunday; the approach of the Holy Week, therefore, made an adjournment necessary. Parliament had already granted a half Subsidy to be raised at once, with a renewal to Whitsuntide of the wool and other Customs' duties, which in fact had lapsed at Christmas. These grants were made under an express stipulation that the sitting of Parliament should not be abridged in consequence of these grants. On the 20th the Houses rose, an oath having been first administered to all members that they would keep the peace and stand by the five Lords Appellants, as against all men, saving their allegiance to the King, until the 'entire end' of the Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Convocation of Canterbury had already granted half a Tenth; York probably never met.

On the 13th April Parliament resumed its labours. Gloucester's thirst for blood was still unslaked. Four more victims were required. Great efforts were made to save Burley. Introduced to the Royal family in his boyhood, he had lived to introduce the good Queen Anne to her Lord; he had fought at Winchelsea and Najera; had suffered captivity in France; and had been entrusted by the Prince of Wales with the education of his son. The Queen wept for him on her knees;<sup>3</sup> the Earl of Derby battled for him. For more than three weeks Richard held out with honourable persistence, but Gloucester was inexorable, and told him that he must sacrifice Burley or his Crown.<sup>4</sup> On the 5th May Burley was beheaded on Tower Hill, the King having been permitted to excuse drawing and hanging out of regard to the 'Fellowship of the Garter', to which Simon belonged. An

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 253, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 253-255.

<sup>3</sup> Higden, IX. 177; Gower, Pol. Poems, I. 422; Eulog. III. 372, and the MS. French chronicle cited by M. Wallon, I. 514: "*La Roïne fut une fois trois heures a genoulx devant le comte d'arundel.*"

<sup>4</sup> See his own admission when a prisoner at Calais: "*Que le Roy parla a luy de Mons*" *Simond de Burley*, & *que le dit Duk respondi a Roy et disoit a luy que s'il voloit estre Roy covient estre perfourne* (sic) & *fait*"; Rot. Parl. III. 431.

injudicious mentor, he probably had inspired Richard with the exalted ideas of his prerogative that proved his ruin.

On the 12th May Beauchamp, Salisbury, and Berners were condemned, all on cases of treason admittedly unknown before the present Parliament; all three suffered on the same day.<sup>1</sup>

For the cases of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester further measures were necessary. Urban VI had been consulted, and he had no scruples about placing the powers of the Church at the service of a friendly Government. He translated Archbishop Neville to the see of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Chichester to Triburna or Kilmore in Ireland. The translation to St. Andrews "was a mere mockery"; the see was not vacant, and Scotland acknowledged the rival Pope; but the translation made a formal vacancy at York, and enabled the Chancellor, Thomas of Arundel, to take the place. "The appointment to Triburna was simply banishment."<sup>2</sup>

The other measures of the Parliament were conceived in the same thoroughgoing party spirit. All the acts and proceedings of the Appellants were ratified, and the judgments of the Parliament confirmed, with the proviso, however, that the new cases of treason should not be held precedents for the future. Finally, as if to inaugurate a new constitutional era, they requested that the King would be pleased to renew his coronation oath. This being agreed to, on the 2nd June the Commons granted the wool duties, and Tunnage and Poundage, to Midsummer 1389 at existing rates. Of the proceeds £20,000 would be assigned to the Appellants, for the 'costs trouble and expenses' to which they had been put, 'for the honour and profit' of the realm. On the same day John Holland (Lancaster's son-in-law) was created Earl of Huntingdon; while on the morrow the supposed new compact between the King and his subjects was duly ratified in Westminster Abbey. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated; a sermon was preached by Courtenay; and then Richard repeated his coronation oath, and received the homage of the Peers. But "to make assurance doubly sure"

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parlt. III. 243. Beauchamp had been Steward of the Household, and Berners had been the King's ward and playmate. They were objectionable as a Court clique, not as a political party.

<sup>2</sup> See Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 505; Rot. Parlt. 243; Foed. 573.

the members of the two Houses were then sworn not to suffer the reversal of any 'judgment, statute, or ordinance' passed by that Parliament; while finally, the prelates denounced the Major Excommunication against all who should break that oath, or disturb the peace and quiet of the realm. Such elaborate precautions against reaction betrayed the secret trouble of the Appellants' hearts. The sequel proved that they had not formed an undue estimate either of the tenacity, or the duplicity of their young King. On the 4th June the 'Merciless Parliament' was dismissed, having sat for 122 days. It fully deserved its name, having disgraced itself by as gross a set of judicial murders as ever were perpetrated. Still the lesson read to Richard gained for England ten years of fairly constitutional government. No change, however, had been made in the constitution, and for the time Richard remained *in statu pupillari*, "with Ministers chosen for him by Parliament."<sup>1</sup> He had not yet been declared of age!

Having made political capital out of Richard's disposition to make peace with France, the Appellants were again careful to announce a warlike policy. The Commons, when granting the half Subsidy in March, had requested that the proceeds might be expended on naval operations. The Earl of Arundel being still Admiral of all England, the request was readily complied with.<sup>2</sup> Sailing apparently in June, he entered the Seine and burned a big ship there. Holding his course along the coast, Arundel ravaged and burned the islands of Le Bas, Ushant, Raz de Seine; entered the Bay of Bourgneuf, ravaged Rhé, also Oléron, 'where the naval laws are ordained';<sup>3</sup> effected landings at Olonne and Marans near Rochelle, and finally returned to Hastings on the 2nd September laden with booty.<sup>4</sup>

With all people except the French the Appellants were willing to live at peace; and by all, except the Scots, their friendly dispositions apparently were reciprocated. The Scots refused to extend the truce beyond the 19th June.<sup>5</sup> Obviously they had

<sup>1</sup> Oman, *Pol. Hist.*; Genesis, II. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Foed. VII. 578, 586. For Arundel's Muster Roll, "E. B. 1262," see Nicolas, *Royal Navy*, II. 327. £1,255 13s. 4d. was paid as "tunttyght", tonnage freight, for the vessels chartered; Issue Roll, Mich., 12 Rich. II.

<sup>3</sup> "Ubi leges *maritimae conduntur*"; Walsingham.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, II. 254-258.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Scot. II. 92, 93.



heard of the dissensions in London, and thought that their opportunity was come; and when the truce expired the big "Lairds" made ready for a raid, without consulting their pacific old King. They went about their measures so quietly, that before the English Government had taken the alarm, the heroic day of "Chevy Chase" had been lost and won.

Two Scottish armies crossed the Border, one shortly after the other. The main force, under the King's second surviving son, Robert Earl of Menteith and Fife, took the western route, and, marching past Carlisle, laid Brough in ashes. The Earl of Douglas,<sup>1</sup> preferring to act independently, gathered a force on the East March, with the help of the brothers Dunbar, George and John, Earls respectively of March and Moray. A rapid dash was made to the gates of Newcastle. Hotspur was in command there. After a due show of skirmishing at the barriers, and an exchange of proud defiances between Douglas and Hotspur, the Scots vanished, as suddenly as they had appeared; and, on the evening of Wednesday, 5th August, pitched their tents at Otterburn in Redesdale. Percy had probably been taken aback by the rapidity of the Scottish movements, but he was not slow to follow, and he came upon them at Otterburn, as they were preparing for an evening meal in their camp down by the river.<sup>2</sup> Whether he approached by the direct route from Newcastle by Ponteland, or via Hexham, we need not inquire, because about a mile from the village of Otterburn the two roads join. From that point the road coasts the side of a hill; to the left or South it looks down on the meadows in the valley of the Rede; on the right hand or north side the road is dominated by a steep and wooded hill. Finding the Scots encamped in the meadows by the river, Hotspur divided his force, detaching a wing to attack the Scottish camp below, while he remained on the height, watching the sack of the Scottish camp. Douglas, however, taking advantage of his delay, hastened to anticipate his movements. Leaving his camp, camp followers, and baggage guard to their fate, he led the best of his men by a circuitous route along the

<sup>1</sup> James, the second Earl, who succeeded his father William in 1384.

<sup>2</sup> Wyntoun, II. 339; Scotichr. II. 405, 407, 408. Froissart represents the Scots as having spent the day attacking the peel or tower at Otterburn—a very unlikely proceeding, as they never indulged in sieges during their raids.



meadows<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the hill, through the village, and past the tower, for a counter flank attack on the English right. Creeping up a little gulley, he got undiscovered into the wood, and then, wheeling round, fell on the English on the road, as they were complacently watching the sack of the Scottish camp. Taken by surprise, the English were unable to fall in or 'knit' their ranks properly together.<sup>2</sup> 'Right at sundown' the battle began, and a felon fight it proved to be, lasting well into the long summer's night. Douglas fell on the field; but eventually Hotspur's force was routed, and he and his brother Ralph were taken prisoners.<sup>3</sup>

"This was the hontynge off the Cheviat  
Old men that knowen the grounde well yenoughe  
Call it the battell of Otterburn."<sup>4</sup>

Only half a Subsidy had been voted by the Merciless Parliament. With the prospect of hostilities with Scotland in view, the summons of another session had become necessary. It was opened on the 7th September, and for a change was held at Cambridge, a city never before honoured by Parliament. The measures enacted show clearly that the class to which the Government looked for support was that of the landed gentry, great and small. Some regard, however, was also expressed for the interests of tenant farmers;<sup>5</sup> an early instance of their recognition as a class. The interests both of landlords and tenants were consulted at the expense of the unfortunate labourers. The Act,<sup>6</sup> besides confirming all existing Statutes of

<sup>1</sup> "*Per aquosa*"; Scotichr. 410; "*marecages*," Froissart, II. 726. "*Ne prirent point le chemin en allant tout droit devant eux . . . mais côtoyèrent les marecages et une montagne*," &c.; Froissart. The writer had his account from good authority, but as usual he embellishes.

<sup>2</sup> "Thai knyht them noucht in swilk aray

As thai before awysyd were"; Wyntoun, 341.

<sup>3</sup> See in addition to the authorities above cited, Higden, IX. 187-189, where the flank attack comes out clearly; also Walsingham, II. 176. £3,000 were voted by Parliament to Hotspur for his ransom; Issues, Devon, 239, 244. Also Genesis, II. 259-261 and plan there. Local tradition is at sea as to the exact site of the action, the word being that it was "all about the place" quite correctly, as there was fighting on the road, where Percy halted, fighting at the Scottish camp, and fighting on the line of the Scottish retreat.

<sup>4</sup> Percy, Reliques of Poetry, I. 16.

<sup>5</sup> "*Husbondes et terre-tenants que . . . ne povent payer leur rentes*."

<sup>6</sup> 12 Rich. II, cc. 3, 9.

Labourers, lays the foundations of the Law of Settlement, and of the Poor Laws. The third chapter forbids 'servants or labourers', 'male or female', to leave their Hundred, Rape, or Wapentake at the end of their term of service, whether for the sake of a new engagement or of taking up a new abode elsewhere, except under special permit, to be issued at the discretion of the Justices of the Peace. The fourth chapter gives a table of maximum agricultural wages,<sup>1</sup> as clearly inadequate as any previous scheme drawn up by Parliament. Able-bodied beggars are ordered to the stocks (*ceppes*); impotent beggars to be supported for life by the town or parish where they may happen to be at the time of the passing of the Act, unless such town or parish should be able within 40 days to procure their removal to the parish of their birth.

In connexion with the growing influence of the middling gentry, we may notice the provisions for holding Quarter Sessions of Justices of the Peace, with salaries for themselves and their clerks; 4s. for each day of sitting for each Justice, and 2s. for his clerk. County members of Parliament had 10s. a day, borough members 5s. a day.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, a Fifteenth and Tenth were granted by Parliament for the war against the Scots, in addition to the half Subsidy granted by the Merciless Parliament. Canterbury Convocation met in October and granted a Tenth.<sup>3</sup>

The Scots being disposed to be troublesome, the Government once more came round to the idea of making peace with France. The French betrayed no reluctance. On the 18th August a truce for seven months, to cover all lands between the Loire and the Rhône, had already been signed by John of Gaunt as King's Lieutenant of Gascony.<sup>4</sup>

But the Scots were still impracticable and so, for the time, negotiations with them came to nothing.

<sup>1</sup> The rates by the year are: bailiff, 13s. 4d. and a suit of clothes; master hind, carter, or shepherd, 10s.; cattle man, 6s. 8d.; female labourer or dairy-maid, 6s., &c. 'But less where less was wont to be given.' In Mr. Rogers's tables, 1380-1390, we find bailiffs receiving 20s. with 10s. for clothes; carters, plough men, and shepherds, 13s. 4d., &c.; II. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, Select Charters, 494.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 261-263.

<sup>4</sup> Foed. VII. 598. John was appointed on the 26th May, in Parliament.

The Subsidy and a half doled out in thirds yielded: the first third, £17,547 18s. 2d.; the second third, £18,253 16s. 2d.; and the last third, £17,479 2s. 11½d.; together £53,280 17s. 3½d. for the whole Subsidy and a half.

The Canterbury half Tenth produced £9,326 8s. 7d., and the Customs £45,873 17s. 8d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	142,020	2	0

## 12 RICHARD II

1388-1389. Petty ravages on either side of the Border are the only recorded incidents of the first months of the year 1389. But on the 3rd May Richard, following the example of Charles VI, who in the previous month of December had got rid of his uncles Burgundy and Berri, "took the kingdom by surprise", shook off the tutelage of the Appellants, and reinstated himself in authority. A Grand Council of magnates had been convened at Westminster. The King entered the assembly, took his seat, and then asked how old he was. The answer was obvious; he had entered on his twenty-third year. 'Then', said Richard, 'I am old enough to rule my Household and my realm. Any other heir would have entered on his estate at twenty-one.' Following up words with deeds, Richard then and there relieved Archbishop Arundel of the Seal, and Bishop Gilbert of the keys of the Treasury.<sup>1</sup> Next day William of Wykeham and Bishop Brantingham of Exeter, statesmen of approved moderation and experience, "returned to the posts of Chancellor and Treasurer"; while Edmund Stafford became Keeper of the Privy Seal. On the 8th May the King proclaimed that he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands, but that all pardons and remissions granted by the last Parliament would hold good, and that no man entitled to the benefit of any such amnesty would be molested for anything done in that Parliament. But Arundel was deprived of his command as Admiral of all England and Captain of Brest, John Holland, the Earl of Huntingdon, becoming Admiral of the Western Fleet, and John Lord Beaumont, Admiral of the Northern Fleet. Three judges were removed, and four new ones

<sup>1</sup> On the 15th August, however, Gilbert was recalled to the Treasury.

appointed; while the Household was purged of all officials introduced by the Appellants. In its judgment of the *coup d'état* the country was divided; but on the whole it acquiesced in a change that to most men would seem like a return to a normal state of things;<sup>1</sup> while the legality and moderation of the King's conduct disarmed opposition. Gloucester evidently attempted to give trouble, but Richard was too quick for him; summoned him to his presence, and, when he made his appearance, met him half-way, accepting his excuses before they were made. "For eight years Richard governed England as, to all appearances, a constitutional and popular King."

Richard made no effort to recall his banished friends or to avenge the dead. "Suffolk died the same summer in France; Robert de Vere never returned to England; the exiled judges remained for eight years longer in Ireland."<sup>2</sup>

Richard bought his restoration to power by accepting the acts of the Appellants; even the £20,000 voted to them were paid up.<sup>3</sup> In like spirit the negotiations with France were resumed, the same envoys being again accredited, with the addition of the Earl of Salisbury (14 May). On the 18th June a truce for three years was signed: all allies were to be included, and the French undertook to use their good offices with the Scots, who were inclined to hold off.<sup>4</sup> Two Scotsmen in the French service came over and were sent on to Scotland, where they succeeded in obtaining Robert's assent. Finally, on the 27th September envoys from Scotland received Richard's oath in London. The delay was caused by the question of the outstanding balance of the ransom of David II, amounting to 24,000 marks or £16,000. The English would not waive their claim to this money, and the Scots were unwilling to give any fresh acknowledgement of a liability that they did not care to discharge. In the course of December receipts for the full amount were once more sent down to Berwick,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 264, 265. The Continuator of Knighton approves, Walsingham strongly disapproves of the King's action. Malvern is guarded, but as he belonged to the Northampton party in the City he probably disapproved.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 483.

<sup>3</sup> Issues, Devon, 239. So again the translation of Gilbert to St. David's was confirmed, though Hereford had not been filled up; Foed. VII. 634, 646.

<sup>4</sup> Foed. VII. 622-630. The truce was to last till sunrise on the 16th August, 1392. See Higden, IX. 214, 216.



and once more returned to London, to be cancelled, the Scots having failed to pay.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the Subsidies granted, the revenue sinks, the return standing at £121,188 2s. Our Table below, giving an analysis of the Receipts of the year, exhibits the usual approximate correspondence, namely £121,084 7s.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	121,188	2	0

### 13 RICHARD II

1389-1390. The Earls of Nottingham and Derby had never gone the same lengths in their opposition to Richard as the other three Appellants; and he hastened to court their support. Nottingham was confirmed in the Wardenship of the East March already conferred upon him, and made governor of Berwick and Roxburgh. A sum of £1,000 was assigned to him for extra allowances (*regard*), at a Privy Council held on the 13th September at which Derby was present. But for the strenuous resistance of the Chancellor and Treasurer the King would have made the appointments for five years certain, and at the extravagant salaries of £4,000 a year in time of peace and £12,000 in time of war.<sup>2</sup> The Lancastrian party had now come to be the King's best bulwark against Gloucester; and Richard was sighing for the return of his absent uncle. On the 30th October Richard wrote in pressing terms begging him to lose no time. On the 19th November John landed at Plymouth; and attended a Privy Council held at Reading on the 10th December, at which, through his influence, Gloucester and Arundel were allowed to appear.

In this connexion we are told that much as the King wished for the return of his uncle, the immediate prospect of his appearance had a sobering effect on Richard's conduct.<sup>3</sup>

Lancaster's Peninsular campaign had early taken a matrimonial turn. He had two unmarried daughters with him, and suitable matches were suggested for both. João of Portugal, the English ally, was unmarried; in fact, as Grand Master of the

<sup>1</sup> Foed. VII. 651, &c.; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 18. The payment of the ransom was a serious matter for Robert II and his courtiers, as they had pocketed the surtax on wool voted for payment of the ransom.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of Privy Council, I. 9, 12 a.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 267, 268.



Order of Avis he was under vows of celibacy ; but the Church might be induced to grant a dispensation. Juan I of Castile, the English enemy, was married, but he had a son between eight and nine years old, whose hand had not yet been disposed of. The Lady Philippa, the Duke's daughter by Blanche of Lancaster, was offered to the Portuguese King ; while it was suggested that the Castilian question might find a happy solution through the union of young Enrique of Castile to Katherine only child of Costanza, eldest daughter of Pedro the Cruel, and so heiress of her mother's rights.

The settlement of the first match offered no difficulty. In November 1386 the King of Portugal and the Duke met, and settled elaborate treaties for waging combined war on Castile on the one hand, and for the marriage of João and Philippa on the other hand. The latter business was soon disposed of. The Lady was sent to Oporto under the charge of the Archbishop of Braga, and duly married on the 2nd February 1387.<sup>1</sup>

The Castilian alliance should have presented no greater difficulties. It was offered to the Duke before he had been a month in Galicia, and if he had at all realized his position " he would have closed with it at once ". But the infatuated man actually believed in his title to the Crown of Castile, and what was more, believed in his chances of attaining to it. He still cherished the fond delusion that a six-months' campaign, or a single pitched battle, would lay all Castile at his feet ; and so, giving an evasive answer to the Castilian envoy, pressed on to effect the reduction of Galicia, a useless undertaking. By the end of the year he had made himself master of the Province. But the strength of his force had been seriously impaired by want, fatigue, and sickness.

With the spring of 1387 the invasion of Leon was undertaken with the help of Portugal, but came to an end at the walls of Benevente, a place too strong to be attacked ; and there for all practical purposes the invasion ended. Juan, wisely bent on peace and not on war, renewed the liberal offers already made to

<sup>1</sup> Armitage Smith, 318, 319. The dispensation was left to follow ; it was granted on the 5th February by Boniface IX, the successor of Urban VI. For the numerous offspring of the marriage, many descendants of which must be living, see the Table, Armitage Smith, p. 308.

Lancaster. This time they were accepted ; but the terms of the treaty were not settled till the summer of 1388. The liberality of Juan's terms proves how great the prestige of the English armies was ; and how anxious the King of Castile was to be rid of the Duke's pretensions. Juan agreed to marry the Infante Enrique to the Lady Katherine ; to pay John and Costanza an annuity of 40,000 gold francs for their lives and the life of the survivor, with a capital sum of 600,000 gold francs, to be paid in three years by equal instalments at Bayonne. In return John and Costanza renounced and made over to Juan any right or claim that they had, or might have, to the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, or their dependencies, and pledged themselves to abandon the use of the style and arms of the same.<sup>1</sup> In the course of September Katherine of Lancaster was handed over to the Castilian authorities at Fuenterrabia in Guipuzcoa, and by them taken to Palentia, where not long afterwards she was married by the Archbishop of Seville. The wedding was a juvenile affair, but not unduly so for the times, as the bride had attained to fourteen years ; the bridegroom, however, had but ten. In honour of the occasion Enrique was created Prince of the Asturias, the title by which all subsequent heirs apparent of Castile have been known.<sup>2</sup>

For John of Gaunt it must be said that he had done uncommonly well for himself, in fact far better than he ever had any right to expect.

On the 17th January 1390 a Parliament met at Westminster ; the first since the King's resumption of authority. William of Wykeham in his opening speech, while alluding to the fact, was careful to dwell on the King's settled purpose of ruling his people in peace and justice. The course of the session showed how the influence of the Commons was enhanced through the contentions of Court parties. The struggle that eliminated one faction " left the other not so much victorious as dependent on the support of the Commons ".<sup>3</sup> The Appellants had wooed the Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> Armitage Smith, 330, 331 ; Ayala, 272 ; Higden, *sup.* The levy of the necessary taxes " produced a financial crisis ". For the payments to John from Spain in 1395 see Armitage Smith, 447.

<sup>2</sup> Mariana, 866. For the issue of the marriage see the Table, Armitage Smith, 300 ; Genesis, II. 267-271.

<sup>3</sup> See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 321.

Parliament of 1388; Richard now courted the Westminster session of 1390; and, to give the Commons an opportunity of expressing an unbiased judgment on the proceedings of the Government, the Chancellor, Treasurer, and members of the Privy Council all resigned their offices, begging that if any man had any complaint to make against any one of them he should come forward and speak, or else hold his tongue. Of course, they were all triumphantly reinstated on the morrow, Lancaster and Gloucester retaining their seats on the Privy Council. Vainly might Richard protest that the incident should not be turned into a precedent, and that, though for once he had submitted the Ministry to the judgment of Parliament, he would still remain free to appoint and dismiss such persons as he pleased. By appealing to the Commons for justification of his acts, Richard had paid them a compliment, the moral significance of which could not be effaced.

The further course of the session ran quite in keeping with this beginning; and a rather important Act was passed, based in almost every particular on the requirements of the Commons. In return they contented themselves with simply granting a prolongation of the Customs' duties to Christmas, and that at reduced rates. The totals on wool were lowered from 50s. and 53s. 4d. to 40s. and 43s. 4d., from aliens and natives respectively; while the surtax on general goods was put down from 12d. to 6d. The Statutes of Labourers were confirmed; but the table of wages fixed at Cambridge in 1388 was abandoned, the rates for the future being left to be settled annually by the justices in Quarter Sessions, according to the state of the seasons, and the current rates of prices. But this relaxation, we regret to say, was not among the measures requested by the Commons. On the other hand, their wishes were consulted in a prohibition issued against labourers or artificers keeping greyhounds, ferrets, snares, nets, or "hare pipes", for the taking of 'game hares or rabbits', a first instalment of Game Legislation. But the really important measure of the session was a confirmation of the Statute of Provisors of the 25th Edward III, with further safeguards against Papal usurpation, as concerning benefices vacant or to become vacant from the 29th January (1390) onwards. With respect to these, any person accepting a benefice in con-

travention of the Act was subjected to the penalties of a *Praemunire*, that is to say, to utter forfeiture and banishment; any person sending to Rome, or inducing the King to send to Rome, in contravention of the Act, was made liable to heavy pecuniary penalties; while life and limb would be forfeited by the man who should introduce any 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' for the like purpose; any prelate giving effect to any such 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' to forfeit his temporalities.<sup>1</sup> But the snake was "scotched not killed", as the Act still left the King free to treat of his own accord with the Papacy for the disposal of bishoprics, and we shall find further legislation needed to put a final end to the abuse. The two Archbishops at once entered a protest against the measure as infringing Apostolic rights and the 'Liberty' of the Church. Later, in the month of May, when the Statute was formally promulgated, a copy was forwarded to Boniface IX at Rome,<sup>2</sup> with a covering letter under the seals of the King and all the lay baronage. The document begins by fiercely denouncing Provisions, but ends somewhat tamely, almost apologetically, referring to the obligations of the King's coronation oath, and humbly begging the Holy Father himself to provide a speedy remedy for the evils complained of.<sup>3</sup> The Crown was not yet disposed to break with the Papacy. On the contrary, Richard was still careful to cultivate political friends.

During the Parliament, John of Gaunt—no longer "*Monsieur d'Espagne*"—was created Duke of Aquitaine with all rights and privileges appertaining to the Duchy, as if to console him for the loss of his regal style. The Duke of York was a man so entirely devoted to field sports that little could be made of him as a factor in the game of politics. His ambition had been satisfied with the appointment to the congenial office of the Mastership of the King's Mew-house,<sup>4</sup> and the King's Game; still it was thought

<sup>1</sup> 13 Rich. II; Statutes, II. 61-68; Rot. Parl. III. 266, 267, and Higden, IX. 231-233; also 225-227; where the Statute of Carlisle of the 35th Edw. I is again cited as condemning Provisions, the prohibition being wanting in the copy in the Statute book.

<sup>2</sup> Elected 2nd November 1389 by the Italian Cardinals to carry on the struggle.

<sup>3</sup> "*Festinum et salubre temperamentum apponere*"; 26th May; Foed. VII. 672-674.

<sup>4</sup> Where the King's hawks were kept at Charing.



that his son Edward might be conciliated by a title ; accordingly he was invested with the Earldom of Rutland.<sup>1</sup>

For lack of Subsidy the revenue falls to £81,634 7s. 1d., the lowest return of the reign ; and of that sum the Customs provided £54,940 2s. ; showing £26,694 5s. 1d. as the ordinary revenue from all sources.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	81,634	7	1

## 14 RICHARD II

1390-1391. On the 12th November Parliament met at Westminster. The Chancellor explained that though a truce had been signed, little had been done towards settling the basis of a definite peace, and that the existing revenue would not meet all the charges for defensive measures required on the Scottish March, and in Ireland, Calais, Brittany, and Guienne, even on a peace footing.<sup>2</sup> This point had been urged by him in the last Parliament.

The Commons immediately demanded the abolition of the Calais Staple, as promised in the last session. The King agreed, and a Statute was passed by which, for a short time, the Staple Ordinances of the year 1353 were restored. But with these Ordinances was revived the monstrous prohibition by which native merchants were forbidden to export or buy up ("regrate"), that is to say, practically, to deal in wool, leather or lead. The ostensible object was to attract foreign gold ; but the real end was to force on the re-establishment of the Calais Staple. For the encouragement of English shipping, it was enacted that any goods that natives were permitted to export should be 'freighted' in native bottoms. The Scots currency, having again fallen, was declared only legal tender for half its face value. In return the Commons granted the wool and leather duties for three years from the 30th November, namely, the Subsidy on the sack at the rate of 43s. 4d. from natives, and 46s. 8d. from aliens, and the surtax on the last of leather at £4 6s. 8d. and £4 13s. 4d. from natives and aliens respectively. Tunnage and Poundage were

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 271-274 ; Complete Peerage (25th February 1390).

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 277. The Minutes of the Privy Council show that great efforts were being made to retrench ; even the pensions of the Dukes of York and Gloucester were in arrear : Rot. Parl. 278.



voted at 3s. and 1s. respectively.<sup>1</sup> The Chancellor, however, failed to obtain any other grant. The Commons were fully alive to the strength of their position and determined to profit by it.

The instructions given during the course of the year to the ambassadors commissioned to treat for a final peace give a fair insight into the diplomatic situation. The English envoys were, at last, authorized to concede the *dernier ressort*, if necessary; and under strictest limitations as to the suzerain rights to be recognized in the King of France. In return they were to demand the whole of Guienne, to be held by 'simple' homage, to be rendered vicariously, and not in person, and 'without regard to the liege homage rendered by the King's grandfather, the King Edward'. Later instructions order the agents to press for Ponthieu, and the arrears of John's ransom; the Scots and Spaniards to be kept out of the treaty, if possible.<sup>2</sup> So again towards Scotland: Robert II having died,<sup>3</sup> his successor Robert III was promptly summoned to confirm the truce; he did so without delay; but the envoys were instructed to ask for the balance of the ransom, 'a little before departing, at the end of their treaty'; and always, 'so as not to endanger the truce'.<sup>4</sup> In the matter of the ransom the English were strictly within their rights; but the frank release of a bad debt would have been a cheap price to pay for cordial relations with Scotland. In the spring of 1391 the receipts for the £16,000 were again sent up to the North, and again after a while returned to the Treasury.<sup>5</sup>

The anti-Papal legislation of 1390 had not passed unnoticed at Rome. On the 4th February 1391 Boniface issued a Bull abrogating the whole in most sweeping terms; while on the

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 279. The reader will bear in mind that the above duties were in addition to the hereditary Customs, the *Antiqua* and *Parva*.

<sup>2</sup> April 1390; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 19, 22. The envoys, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland and John Devereux, were named 8th April; Foed. VII. 667. They crossed in June; Higden, IX. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Robert II died at Dundonald Castle, 19th April 1390; Scotichr. II. 415. His son John, Earl of Carrick, was crowned at Scone, 14th August, as Robert III; Wyntoun, II. 350. Perhaps he took the name of Robert to assert his position against his ambitious brother Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith, who had been appointed Warden of the Realm in 1388 (Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 551), and who retained the Wardenship and practical government of the country after his father's death.

<sup>4</sup> See Foedera, VII. 675, 678, 683; Proceedings Privy Council, 27, 33. Robert III confirmed the truce 16th July.

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, 697.

14th April he accredited a Nuncio, one Nicholas, a Benedictine Abbot, to discuss matters in a more temperate spirit. Richard retorted with a strict prohibition against the importation or execution of any Bull, prohibiting the exportation of money, and recalling all English subjects at Rome. The Nuncio, in pressing for the repeal of all Statutes of Provisors or *Praemunire*, and even of proceedings by writ of *Quare impedit*,<sup>1</sup> as destructive to the 'Liberty' of the Church, laid stress on England's need of support from Rome to counteract French schemes of aggrandizement in Italy, encouraged at Avignon. Richard promised to lay the Pope's demands before Parliament, intimating that, if peace continued, his subjects might be able to contribute to a Subsidy for which the Pope had been pressing.<sup>2</sup>

For the year's revenue, from the Treasurer's Accounts we learn of a half Tenth granted by Canterbury, not noticed elsewhere, which brought in the paltry return of £4,377 1s. 5d. The total return is better than that of last year, but still below the average, only reaching the sum of £98,422, of which the Customs contributed nearly the half, namely £39,948 17s. 11d.

					£	s.	d.
Revenue	.	.	.	.	98,422	0	0

## 15 RICHARD II

1391-1392. On the 3rd November (1391) Parliament met at Westminster, to find a new Ministry installed in office. On the 27th September William of Wykeham had resigned the Seal, Thomas of Arundel, the Archbishop of York, the Appellants' Chancellor, being appointed to succeed him. The Treasury had been in the hands of members of the same party since July 1389.<sup>3</sup>

The Archbishop touched upon three points: the possible renewal of the war in August; the low price of wool; and the strained relations with the Papacy consequent on recent legislation. The King, he said, was anxious for some compromise which

<sup>1</sup> *Quare impedit* was the writ for determining the right of presentation to a living, commonly as between a lay patron and a bishop.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 179, 180.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Gilbert of Hereford was reinstated a few months after his dismissal, and was succeeded by John Waltham, the Bishop of Sarum, 2nd May 1391: Pell Roll. Thomas Fitzalan of Arundel, previously Bishop of Ely, became Archbishop of York in 1388 in succession to the banished Neville.

would allow England 'to render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's, and unto God the things that were God's'. On all points the Commons proved amenable to management. A half Subsidy was granted, to be raised at Easter 1392, besides a whole Subsidy, to be levied two months later, if hostilities should be resumed; and on the further condition that the King should take a personal part in the war, by taking a 'voyage' either to France or Scotland. The clergy in their provincial assemblies granted half Tenths.

The low price of wool to which the Chancellor referred was the natural result, in fact the contemplated result, of the stagnation in trade caused by the legislation of the previous year, when native merchants were forbidden to deal in wool, foreign merchants not having yet had time to come forward. The prohibition was now rescinded, and natives were allowed to deal in wool under the Staple regulations of 1353 till Midsummer, after which time the objectionable Calais Staple would be re-established.

With respect to the Statutes of Provisors, we are told that the King and Lancaster were inclined to defer to the Pope's wishes, but that the Commons refused to allow those measures to be repealed; as a concession, however, they agreed to give the King, for a limited time, Parliamentary authority to grant special exemptions. As the King had granted and would certainly continue to grant such exemptions, by virtue of his ordinary prerogative, the Commons' sanction was given doubtless in the hope of acquiring the power of regulating that which they could not prevent.

As if to efface all unpleasant recollections of the year 1388, the Commons at the close of the session presented a petition to which the Royal assent was granted in the frankest manner; the prayer was that, notwithstanding any 'statute or ordinance' theretofore passed, and specially notwithstanding any 'statute' passed in the time of Edward II, the King should stand and be as free in his prerogative<sup>1</sup> and Royal dignity as any of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "*Regalie*."

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 286. A petition to the same effect had been presented and granted in the last Parliament; Id. 277. Bishop Stubbs considered that this renunciation of political opposition had been stipulated by Richard "as a condition of the promotion of the Arundels".

The Statute published at the close of this session contained a fresh prohibition against alienations in "mortmain". Parsons and other 'men of religion' were forbidden to acquire lands by way of addition to their churchyards; and the prohibition of the Statute *De Religiosis* was declared applicable to lands held by trustees 'to the use' of corporations, whether ecclesiastical or municipal, trade Gilds being expressly named among the latter.

The knights of the shire again wished for power to seize runaway 'natives' within the walls of chartered towns; and all the Commons wished to prohibit the sons of natives from 'advancing' themselves through education and Holy Orders; but the King to his credit again withheld his consent.<sup>1</sup>

It was understood that the half Subsidy granted in December had been voted for the expenses of a grand embassy to France. The Commons wished for peace; and as a suitable negotiator they suggested "*Monsieur de Guyen*" as being 'the most sufficient person of the realm';<sup>2</sup>—so completely had John's position in popular estimation veered round. On the 22nd February 1392 the Duke was named King's Lieutenant in Picardy; in the course of March he crossed the Channel, accompanied by his nephew the Earl of Rutland and the Bishop of Durham. The French gave them a magnificent reception, escorting them with 1,000 horses, free of all cost, to Amiens; and there on the 25th of the month Lancaster was received in state by Charles VI. In the business discussions that ensued the Duke adhered strictly to the instructions drawn up in April 1390, demanding the arrears of John's ransom, and the entirety of Guienne as the price of peace. The demand was, if possible, more ridiculous than ever, as the French had recently gained a clear diplomatic victory over the English, by effecting a final accord with the Duke of Brittany.<sup>3</sup> An extension of the truce to Michaelmas 1393 was the only fruit of the conference. Yet Charles VI was sincerely desirous of peace; and pressed

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 280-282.

<sup>2</sup> "*A cause qu'il est le plus sufficeant persone de Roialme*": Rot. Parl. III. 286. In Aquitaine he was so unpopular that he had to disclaim his rights: Higden, IX. 263, 264.

<sup>3</sup> See Wallon, II. 51, 415; citing Morice, Hist. Bretagne, II. 585. The treaty was signed at Tours, 26th January 1392; the Duke agreed to marry his son Jean to Jeanne, second daughter of Charles VI.



Lancaster for England's consent to a joint crusade against the Turk, for the defence of Hungary and Constantinople. Four months later the unfortunate Charles became a helpless maniac.<sup>1</sup>

The rejection of the English demands was laid before a Grand Council of magnates, which was opened at Stamford on the 25th of May. It was said that the King and Lancaster were inclined to yield somewhat for the sake of peace, but that Gloucester was contrary, and that they were afraid of giving him an opportunity of appealing to the warlike passions of the nation.<sup>2</sup>

Another matter laid before the magnates reads in some respects like a return to the days of Henry III. Richard had applied to the City of London for a loan of £1,000; the citizens, who doubtless thought that they were living under a strictly constitutional *régime*, refused. Richard then turned to a Lombard, who promptly found the money. The King, somewhat surprised, asked him how he had come so readily by the amount; and when told that it had been advanced by Londoners, was beyond measure incensed, and, to punish the citizens, ordered the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer to be removed to York, a most oppressive and unpopular measure. Disturbances ensued, of which the King took a personal view, the friendly Lombard having been mobbed and beaten. Richard's complaints against the Londoners were laid before the Stamford Council, and, with their approval, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and other leading citizens, forty-eight men in all, were ordered to present themselves at Nottingham on the 25th June. When they appeared the Mayor and Sheriffs were apprehended and sent to different castles in confinement; the City was taken into hand, and a Royal Warden appointed. An inquiry into the state of the municipal government held at Windsor on the 22nd July gave the Queen and the Royal Dukes an opportunity of intervening as mediators, for which Gloucester, for one, got no thanks.<sup>3</sup> A reconciliation was finally effected on the 21st August, when the King condescended to come to London. He was received with all the pomp of a coronation entry. Coming from Sheen

<sup>1</sup> August; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 19; the writer was in the King's retinue at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 284, 285.

<sup>3</sup> An appointment that Gloucester had received as King's Lieutenant of Ireland was cancelled next day; see Genesis, II. 298.



(Richmond) he was met at Wandsworth by the Aldermen, headed by the Warden, and followed by the trade Gilds in their proper liveries; the Bishop of London and his clergy met him at St. George's, Southwark. The streets from London Bridge to Westminster were draped with costliest hangings; the most precious offerings were presented at different stages in the progress. Thus we have 'To the King a table of the Trinitie in gold, worth eight hundred pound: To the Queen another of St. Anne because her name was Anne'.<sup>1</sup> Horses, trappings, cups and jewels without number were presented. But for all that the good citizens found that their franchises would not be restored without a payment of £10,000 in hard cash. The money was raised by an assessment of 40*d.* in the £1 of all tenements.

The returns of the three half Subsidies or Subsidy and a half granted in the year are not forthcoming, but on the strength of the previous grant to the same effect we may say £53,000. The Canterbury half Tenth only yielded the modest sum of £4,377 1*s.* 5*d.* The Customs at £51,169 0*s.* 9*d.* again provide about half the year's revenue, which stands at £104,923 15*s.* 11*d.*

					£	s.	d.
Revenue	.	.	.	.	104,923	15	11

## 16 RICHARD II

1392-1393. On the 20th January 1393 a Parliament met at Winchester. Supply and 'Provisors' were the matters to which Chancellor Arundel invited attention, the King, he said, being anxious to avoid a rupture with the Papacy. On both points Arundel was again successful in his management of the Houses. The wool duties were granted for three years more from the 30th November, with Tunnage and Poundage, all at existing rates; subject as to the latter to an abatement of one half if the truce should be prolonged, and if the King should fail to undertake any personal voyage 'to Ireland, Scotland, or elsewhere oversea'. Three half Subsidies were also granted: one to be raised at Midsummer in any case; another by the 2nd November; the proceeds, however, to be kept in hand by the Treasurer, if no 'voyage' to Ireland or Scotland should have taken place;

<sup>1</sup> See the full description of the pageant, *Pol. Poems*, I. 294; also Higden, IX. 274. It appears that the two 'tables' were altar-fronts, and that the 'Table of the Trinitie' had a representation of the Crucifixion in relief.

the third to be exigible on the 2nd February 1394, but only in the event of a renewal of the war, and of an actual expedition having been undertaken by the King.

The two Convocations met in March and granted half Tenths each.<sup>1</sup>

In the matter of Provisors the Commons showed themselves more disposed to trust the King than they had done in 1390; giving him power, not merely to grant exemptions from, but even to make 'modifications' in, the Statute itself; such modifications to be made with the assent of the Lords in Council, and laid before Parliament at its next meeting.

This arrangement sounds a curious preliminary to the passing of the great statute of *Praemunire*, the most anti-Papal Act of Parliament passed prior to the reign of Henry VIII; the Act from which the rapid decline of Papal authority in England is commonly dated.

The seeming incongruity may be explained in few words. The Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire*, though closely connected and in fact interwoven, ought still to be distinguished. The Statutes of Provisors, in the strict sense, forbade any man to take English preferment by virtue of a Papal appointment. The penalties of *Praemunire* were decerned against persons introducing Bulls or sentences to enforce Papal decrees, whether in the matter of church preferment, or otherwise. But we have seen again and again, as a matter of fact, that Papal appointments were often an actual convenience to the Government. For one thing, a bishop could not be translated from one See to another without the intervention of the Pope; and in many other ways the concurrence of the Holy See enabled the King to get things done that could not be done without it. The Government was not disposed to deprive itself of this useful instrument, but it was determined to suppress all Papal interference not convenient to itself. The present action of the Government had doubtless been called forth by an attempt on the part of Boniface to force Cardinal Brancaccio into a prebendal stall at Wells, which had already been given by the King to another man. The petition on which the Act was based made two averments: one that the Pope had recently issued letters of

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 287.

excommunication against English prelates for giving effect to orders addressed to them in the regular course by the courts of the realm; the other that it was commonly reported that the Pope intended to translate certain English bishops, without consulting either the King or the bishops concerned. The spiritual lords were challenged for a declaration of opinion on these facts. Courtenay's answer was worthy of his position as a churchman and a statesman. He said that without affirming that the Holy Father might not lawfully excommunicate a bishop for due canonical cause; and without affirming that he might not translate a bishop; yet if any bishop or other subject had been excommunicated for such cause as alleged; and if any bishop were to be translated in the manner alleged, without regard for the rights of the King or bishop, such act would be an infringement of the Royal prerogative,<sup>1</sup> and that on such a point he personally would elect to stand by his King.<sup>2</sup>

This answer settled the question. The operative words of the Act impose the penalties of outlawry, forfeiture, and imprisonment on any person who should procure, introduce, or publish any translation, sentence of excommunication, or Bull touching the King's prerogative. But the mere acceptance of a benefice under a Papal Provision is no longer made penal.

The records of Parliament show how feeble the law still was in its dealings with powerful offenders. The last Parliament had asked for a statutory declaration that no man should be called to answer for his freehold before the 'council' (i. e. the baronial court) of any private lord or lady. The request was granted, but no penalty was specified: the Commons having now asked for a penalty, the King fixed the very inadequate sum of £20 as a suitable fine. To check party organizations for illegal purposes, lords were forbidden to give 'livery of fellowship', i. e. personal badges, to any person below the rank of an esquire, not actually residing in the household as a domestic.<sup>3</sup>

The armed brigandage carried on under the sheltering jurisdictions of Lancaster and Chester has been noticed more than once. A petition presented to this Parliament gives fresh evidence of the

<sup>1</sup> "*Contre le Roi et sa couronne.*"

<sup>2</sup> "*Il voet estere ove . . . le Roi e ove sa corone en cel cas a son poair*": Rot. Parlt. III. 304. See also 204.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 288-290.

iniquities that could be perpetrated under the Palatine system. Not only were the misdoers safe when they got home—as the Palatine jurisdictions took no cognizance of crimes committed beyond their borders—but merchants and other peaceable ‘strangers’, venturing within the limits of the ‘Pale’, were liable to be arrested by way of reprisals for alleged wrongs done to ‘Pale’ men elsewhere. The King, however, again declined to interfere with the privileges of his uncles.<sup>1</sup>

If the Commons really wished for peace, they certainly made their grants in such a shape as to give the King every excuse for renewing the war. Richard, however, held to his pacific purpose; he had no taste for soldiering himself, and he doubtless did not wish to give others opportunities of acquiring dangerous popularity. John of Gaunt was again instructed to treat for peace, Gloucester being associated with him this time.

The King of France, who had recovered his reason for the time, came down to Abbeville for Easter (6 April). The conferences were opened in the time-honoured chapel at Leulinghem in the following week; on the 28th of April the truce was prolonged to Michaelmas 1394. Next day the negotiators adjourned for three weeks to consult their respective Governments.

On the 21st May the English envoys crossed over again to Calais, and the conferences were resumed. But a return of Charles’s malady cut short the business.

More creditable to Richard and his advisers even than strivings after peace was the honourable fulfilment of a contract, by the restitution of Cherbourg to its lord, the young King of Navarre, Charles III, surnamed the Noble. The fortress had been placed in the hands of the English in 1378, as a security for an advance of 25,000 “francs”. Charles now tendered the money, and demanded his own again. The French, of course, were the chief movers in the matter, and they found the francs; but Richard’s obligation was not the less clear. On the 21st January 1394 the receipt for the money was sealed, and the final order for the surrender of the place issued.<sup>2</sup>

For the revenue, of the three half Subsidies granted by Parliament the returns seem wanting. Two of them were only granted conditionally. But we have seen the condition with

<sup>1</sup> Gloucester was Justiciar of Chester and John of Gaunt, of course, of Lancaster.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 291, 296.



regard to one of them formally waived, and we shall find the condition with regard to the third satisfied by the King's expedition to Ireland, so that we may fairly assume all three to have been paid, and for the yield we may again allow £53,000. For the Canterbury half Tenth we may suggest £4,300 as before. The Customs with £61,551 14s. 2d., almost the highest return of the reign, provide a full half of the revenue, namely £121,710 8s. 4d.

					£	s.	d.
Revenue	.	.	.	.	121,710	8	4

## 17 RICHARD II

1393-1394. On the 27th January (1394) a Parliament met at Westminster. The session opened with a quarrel between Lancaster and the Earl of Arundel. The two had fallen foul of each other in the previous year, in connexion with a petty rising that had broken out in the North, provoked by Palatine brigandage, and aimed at the suppression of Palatine franchises.<sup>1</sup> Arundel now, very rashly, preferred a set of most preposterous charges against Lancaster. He complained of the Duke's arrogance at the Council board; of his presumption in walking arm-in-arm<sup>2</sup> with the King; of his mismanagement of the peace negotiations, &c., &c. Richard, who now looked to Lancaster for support against Gloucester, took the matter up warmly, giving a categorical answer to each point urged by Arundel, and finally compelling him to make a set apology to the Duke. The apology is interesting, if only as a specimen of the English then spoken at court. "Sire sith that hit semeth to the Kyng and to the other Lordes, and eke that yhe ben so mychel greved and displeisid be my wordes, Hit forthynketh me, and byseche yowe of your gode Lordship to remyt me your mau-talent."<sup>3</sup> Arundel lived to repent of his rashness, as we shall see.

The question of the session was that of the concessions to be made to France as the price of peace. The Lords said that they would be content if only "liege" homage were remitted, and if the King would reserve the right to resume the style of France 'if the peace were infringed by the Adversary'. The Commons

<sup>1</sup> See Genesis, II. 291.

<sup>2</sup> "*Aler en mayne et brace du Roi . . . aler en sa main ou brace.*"

<sup>3</sup> 'ill-will'; Rot. Parlt. III. 313, 314.



gave their answer in writing, through the Speaker, John Bushey, knight. With respect to three points, namely "Liege" homage, "*Souverainete*" (Suzerainty?), and "*Ressort*", they begged to be discharged from giving any answer, the matters being 'too high and weighty' for them, and the rights implied so undefined.<sup>1</sup> But if the Lords thought that under due definition (*moderation*) homage might be rendered for Guienne, then, for the sake of 'good peace', they were prepared to consent. But they renewed the old stipulation made in 1340, early in the war, that the assumption of the title of King of France should not involve any subjection of the Crown of England to that of France.<sup>2</sup>

In the matter of supply, the second of the half Subsidies voted conditionally in the last Parliament was ordered to be handed over; while Tunnage and Poundage were continued at the full rates, notwithstanding the subsistence of the truce, and though the King had not undertaken any voyage of any kind. Both Convocations gave Tenths.<sup>3</sup>

The quarrel of the previous year with the Londoners had suggested the expediency of modifying the civic constitution in a conservative direction: it was enacted that the aldermen should no longer vacate office at the end of the year, but that they should continue 'until removed for reasonable cause'; the evident object being to create a close corporation amenable to Court influence.<sup>4</sup>

Parliament inclining towards peace, active negotiations were resumed, in which Lancaster was again given the leading part, but Gloucester, as being hostile to peace, was left out. To fill the second part, York for once was induced to leave his hawks and his hounds. The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy again met them at Leulinghem, after Easter (19th April). It seemed as if something definite would surely be arranged this time; but a prolongation of the truce for four years to Michaelmas 1398 was all that was effected (27 May).<sup>5</sup> In justice to the English diplomatists it must be said that the French were apparently demanding the

<sup>1</sup> "*A cause que nulle moderation d'icelles est ungore faite.*"

<sup>2</sup> See Genesis, I. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 314-316; II. 214; see also Wake, 324.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 317; 17 Rich. II, c. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Foedera, VII. 769, &c. The truce was confirmed by Richard, 5th June; id. 776; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 138.

surrender of Calais, a point that no English Ministry could have entertained for one moment.<sup>1</sup>

During the summer England was bereft of her three ladies of the highest rank. John of Gaunt on returning from Calais found himself again a widower, his much enduring wife Costanza of Castile having passed away on the 24th March.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th June Queen Anne of Bohemia, "the goode Lady", died at Sheen, i. e. Richmond;<sup>3</sup> while about the first day of July Mary Bohun, Countess of Derby, died of childbirth at Leicester.<sup>4</sup> Her half of the Hereford estates had made Bolingbroke "a great landowner" even in his father's lifetime. The national loss was that of the Queen; her premature death deprived the King of a gentle soothing influence, and left him free to run his mad career. His passionate grief betrayed the petulance of a spoiled child. The royal manor house where Anne died was ordered to be destroyed. For a whole year he refused to enter any house where they had rested together. On the 3rd August the Queen was buried in Westminster Abbey; during the obsequies the King gave way to an outrageous fit of temper, provoked, no doubt, by the persistent folly and bad manners of the Earl of Arundel. He, with other magnates, had been ordered to attend the procession all the way from Sheen to Westminster; but instead of doing so, contented himself with appearing at the church door, somewhat late; and then, almost immediately, asked to be allowed to retire. Richard in a fury snatched a wand from one of the vergers, and struck the Earl such a blow on the head that he felled him to the ground, drawing blood, and so, in ecclesiastical language, "polluting the church". This outbreak threw everything into confusion, as the funeral had to be suspended till the church had been formally purified and reconsecrated, the whole rites lasting till nightfall.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 292-295.

<sup>2</sup> So her obit in John of Gaunt's Will; Armitage Smith, 429; 25th March, Higden, IX. 283. "*Mulier super faeminas innocens et devota*"; Walsingham, II. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Higden, sup. "*Mulier . . . Deo data . . . faultrix pauperum et Ecclesiae*"; Ann. Ric. 168; "*Graciosa et regno Angliae in quantum potuit proficua*"; Mon. Evesh. 125; Usk, 8. Wardrobe Account 67/16.

<sup>4</sup> Knighton, Cont. 2741; Ann. Ric. 168. Isabel of Castile, the Duchess of York, had died 23rd December 1392; Higden, 278; Foedera, VII. 740.

<sup>5</sup> Genesis, II. 296. Arundel was sent to the Tower the same day, but

Richard in his grief sought for distraction in an expedition to Ireland. A Royal visit to the Dominion was greatly needed; a second century had almost elapsed since the Sister Isle had been visited by an English King; the sphere of Royal authority had shrunk to the narrowest limits. Yet Richard's action was probably prompted more by the wish to please the English public, and to satisfy the Parliamentary cry for a 'voyage', than from any statesmanlike considerations.

Leaving Westminster in the latter half of August, Richard was at Haverfordwest on the 29th September, when he appointed the Duke of York Regent to act in his absence. About the 1st October he sailed from Milford Haven, and on the 2nd of the month landed at Waterford. Gloucester accompanied him, also the Earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland.

We have seen that the second of the conditional half Subsidies granted in the previous year had been ordered to be paid; and we venture to assume that the King's 'voyage' to Ireland would satisfy the condition under which the third half Subsidy would become exigible. Both Convocations had voted Tenths. In the absence of official data, for the Canterbury contribution we may allow £16,000. With the extra duties the Customs produce £54,273 4s. 3d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	114,589	1	1

## 18 RICHARD II

1394-1395. Of the force taken by Richard to Ireland no estimate worth anything is forthcoming; but it was large enough to be very costly, while his numbers were swelled by the arrival of Ormonde<sup>1</sup> with the military contingents of the loyal Irish. Richard made no attempt to extend his influence southwards from Waterford, turning his steps northwards towards Dublin, thus leaving Art MacMurragh<sup>2</sup> free to attack and plunder the town of New Ross. When John landed at Waterford in 1185 with 300 men-at-arms, he was received with general offers of released at the end of a week. The monument erected to Anne by the King may be seen in Westminster Abbey beside his tomb.

<sup>1</sup> James Butler III, Earl of Ormonde.

<sup>2</sup> King of Leinster, descendant of Dermot MacMurragh.

submission.<sup>1</sup> According to the native authorities Richard with his imposing force had more or less to fight his way through the heart of his own Leinster; at any rate he failed to effect any conquests. Ormonde with all his experience of Irish warfare failed to make good an attack upon Offaly, 'the territory of O'Connor'; while Nottingham the Earl Marshal suffered a like reverse in an expedition against Ely, 'the land of O'Carrol'.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a report to friends at home, sent by one with the expedition, tells us that the Earls of Rutland and March had burned nine villages, captured 400 head of cattle, and nearly captured MacMurragh's Seal; while "the Earl C." (Constable, Gloucester?) had killed 100 of the enemy and taken 6,000 beasts. Early in November Richard went into winter quarters in Dublin, the army camping outside.

Unable to reduce the Irish by force of arms, Richard had recourse to other means. Negotiations were opened through the Earl of Ormonde. Art MacMurragh was pacified by the restitution of lands that had been confiscated by the Government; he was also induced to accept of other and better lands in exchange for lands under his control in Carlow, where the circuits of the King's officers were exposed to interference in the administration of the law. A pension of 80 marks also would be continued. On these terms MacMurragh and his under-chiefs met the Earl of Nottingham on the 16th February 1395, "in the open field of Balingory near Carlow," and did homage through him to Richard as "Ardrigh", or over-king of Ireland. Richard also went in person to Drogheda, and received there the homage of Niel O'Neill and other Northern chiefs. Ready submission, they could see, was the easiest way of getting rid of the unwelcome intruder. Brian O'Brien also was induced in Celtic phrase to 'enter Richard's house'. He had a special object in view, namely to obtain support against a rival King of Munster, who was backed up by the Earl of Desmond.<sup>3</sup>

Richard apparently endeavoured to dazzle and overawe the Irish with the splendour of his housekeeping, the variety and

<sup>1</sup> See Angevin Empire, 227, 228.

<sup>2</sup> Offaly is in the north of King's County, and Ely in the extreme south of it; Gilbert, 267.

<sup>3</sup> Gerald Fitz Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond; Genesis, II. 199-300.



quaintness of the dishes served at table, "the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel." There were said to be three hundred cooks in the kitchen, while the "*bouches de Court*" numbered thousands.<sup>1</sup> Richard also conceived the brilliant idea of supplementing the homage bond, and still further attaching the Four Kings, by conferring on them the novel honour of Knighthood. To fit them for the distinction they were induced to come to Dublin, to be indoctrinated in the ways of civilized society. After a month of probation Mac-Murragh, O'Neill, O'Connor, and O'Brien were admitted to hold their due vigils in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and next day, being Lady-day (25th March), after Mass they were dubbed in the church by the King. In the evening they were entertained at his own table at a state banquet.

In a communication to the Regent intended for the ears of a Parliament to be held in England in his absence, Richard gives his view of the situation in Ireland. The Irish, says he, may be divided into three classes: the 'savage Irish', the 'rebel Irish', and the 'obedient English'. The 'rebels', he thought, might have some substantial grievances to complain of. To meet their case he had summoned a Parliament to assemble at Dublin on the 19th April. Till then he had extended a special protection to them, but, beyond that, he could not go without the sanction of the home Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

This assembly had met at Westminster on the 27th January 1395. As it was summoned solely for the purpose of supply, Gloucester was sent home to use his influence with the lieges, and with the best result. The Commons expressed a grateful sense of the King's "corage" in undertaking such 'labours' for the 'conquest' of the rebel Irish, and in return voted a whole Subsidy, to be raised half at Whitsuntide and half at Martinmas. The clergy of both Provinces met in February and voted Tenths.

The Commons had had their wish; they had goaded the King into a voyage. But the fruitless campaign had involved the Treasury in the heaviest expenditure of any half-year of the reign, the payments between the 28th October 1394 and the 3rd April 1395 having exceeded the sum of £120,000; more by £21,000 than was spent in any other term.

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert, 267, from official reports.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 299-301.



In the course of May Richard returned to England, leaving the government of Ireland in the hands of his cousin Roger Mortimer III, Earl of March, the recognized heir presumptive to the Crown and the largest landowner in Ireland.

It was said that while the King was in Ireland the bishops had pressed him for further measures against the Lollards. The clergy had probably been irritated by the bold front shown by the reforming clergy in the Parliament held in the King's absence. A petition embodying twelve 'Conclusions' as bold as any yet propounded had been presented; failing to obtain an entry on the Parliament Rolls, the document was affixed to the doors both of St. Paul's and of Westminster Abbey. The Articles, which may be attributed to the pen of John Purvey,<sup>1</sup> condemn the teaching of the Roman priesthood as inconsistent with the simplicity of Christ's apostolic institutions; the pretension of bishops affecting to dispense the Holy Spirit by the laying on of their hands is called 'a painful spectacle' for men of sense; the celibacy of the clergy is shown to be demoralizing and degrading in its practical working; Transubstantiation is scouted as 'an imaginary miracle';<sup>2</sup> adoration of the Host is mere 'idolatry'; the practice of blessing inanimate things, such as water, wax, incense, vestments, and the like, is pronounced to savour more of 'necromancy' than of Holy Writ; the employment of priests in secular offices is strongly condemned; like exception is taken to Masses for the dead, pilgrimages, worship of 'Roods' (crucifixes) and relics, auricular confession, and, lastly, the shedding of Christian blood in Crusades and wars of aggression. It was no small triumph for the reformers that men of position could be found to support such tenets on the floor of the House of Commons.

Pressed by the Lollards on one side, the Government was bombarded by the Pope on the other side. Boniface denounced recent anti-Papal legislation as the mere work of the Evil One,<sup>3</sup> and demanded the entire abrogation of all Statutes of Provisors or *Praemunire*. Richard yielded to neither attack. He vowed

<sup>1</sup> See Forshall and Madden, Wycliffite Bible, I. 26. Purvey's Tract *De Regimine Ecclesiæ* is referred to.

<sup>2</sup> "Fictum miraculum."

<sup>3</sup> "A l'instigacion du malveys esprit"; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 54.

to treat all Lollards as traitors. Orders were issued for expelling them from Oxford, while the Chancellor was directed to examine and report upon Wycliffe's *Trialogus*,<sup>1</sup> to which the Conclusions had referred as an authority. To pacify the Pope, a special envoy was sent to Rome. But at the same time a proclamation was issued forbidding all interference with a pending election to the See of Exeter, which was vacant. Of course the only person from whom interference could be feared was the Supreme Pontiff, and the proclamation, as if to remove all possibility of doubt as to the person aimed at, ends by enjoining strict observance of the objectionable Statutes. Since the Schism the Papacy had come down to being content with the merest show of allegiance, and to obtain that would stoop to anything.<sup>2</sup>

While the King was still in Ireland, important negotiations had been going on with France. Short as was the time that had elapsed since the death of the good Queen Anne, speculation as to a possible successor was already rife. Various alliances were open to Richard. It was said that Gloucester was prepared to offer the hand of a daughter—of all matches in the world—an Aragonese Princess was also mentioned. But the alliance on which Richard's mind was bent was one with France; and the lady to whom he looked was the eldest daughter of Charles VI, Madame Isabelle, a child six years old, but who, young as she was, had already been betrothed to the eldest son of the Duke of Alençon.<sup>3</sup> For a man in Richard's circumstances, as a childless King, surrounded by ambitious uncles with grown-up sons, it was of the utmost importance, both for the safety of his own position and the peace and welfare of the realm, that he should have an heir of his own body begotten to clear away all question as to the succession. But Richard in his thirst for autocracy and vengeance was prepared to leave the hope of an heir to the chances of the future.

A wish to get rid of the war was certainly one motive, and a very praiseworthy motive in itself. If we were to judge by the tenor of the first instructions delivered to the English plenipoten-

<sup>1</sup> Foed. VII. 80. See also Wilkins, Conc. III. 225, for an oath of abjuration exacted from five Nottingham Lollards.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 302-304.

<sup>3</sup> Isabelle was born 3rd November 1389, and betrothed to young Alençon in 1391; Wallon, II. 440, citing Anselme, Hist. Geneal. I. 114.

tiaries we might think that next to peace money was the King's object. The instructions begin and end with money demands; two million gold 'francs' to begin with (£333,333 6s. 8d.); then a million and a half;—one million the least to be accepted.<sup>1</sup>

For the whole Subsidy granted in January we may allow £34,000. The Canterbury Tenth granted in February yielded for the first moiety £6,969 9s. 8d.; and for the second moiety £9,388 os. 9d. The Customs keep at high-water mark, returning £53,154 10s. 5d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	147,105	0	4

## 19 RICHARD II

1395-1396. All through the autumn of 1395 and the winter of 1396 the haggling over the King's hand continued. A stipulation in a document dated in January 1396 betrays the fact that through the French alliance and the French gold the King hoped to gain the mastery over his domestic enemies. He authorizes his envoys to accept a lower offer from the French Government if Charles, his uncles, and his brother, will agree "to aid and sustain Richard with all their power" against certain of his subjects. The words in Rymer are given in italics as if they had been cancelled. But Richard, by allowing them to be penned at all, had given himself away.<sup>2</sup>

In the discussions in Paris between the envoys, the question of peace had been treated as involved in that of the marriage. But experience had shown the difficulties attended on any agreement for a 'final peace'. It was suggested that a long truce on the footing of the *status quo* would keep clear of the thorny questions of 'liege homage' and *dernier ressort*, and give the two countries the blessings of substantial peace for a period during which existing difficulties might pass away. In answer to this proposal Richard named eight-and-twenty years, to run from the end of the current truce, which would expire at Michaelmas 1398, as the term to which he was prepared to agree; the Scots to be at liberty to join in if they pleased, but the French under no circumstances to give them any aid: the portion to be

<sup>1</sup> Foed. VII. 104. 8th July.

<sup>2</sup> Foed. VII. 811; Genesis, II. 305.

800,000 francs ; 300,000 to be paid at the marriage ("à l'anel", 'on the ring'), the rest by annual instalments of 100,000 francs ; the dowry jointure to be 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.), and to accrue from the date of Isabelle's marriage. Neither Isabelle nor any of her issue to claim through her any right to the Crown of France, the existing rights of Richard and his heirs, however, being reserved. Failing issue of the marriage, Isabelle to be at liberty to return to France with 500,000 francs of her dower, 300,000 francs being left in any case to England.

On the 9th March 1396 the final treaty was sealed by Charles's plenipotentiaries, and two days later was ratified by the French King himself. Richard pressed on the completion of the marriage with an eagerness that betrayed the importance of the underlying issues. On Sunday, 12th March, the marriage ceremony was performed by the Patriarch of Alexandria in the *Sainte Chapelle*, the necessary dispensation being left to follow. Nottingham, the Earl Marshal, acted as proxy for the King.

Of the King's uncles, Gloucester, of course, as usual, was utterly opposed to any *rapprochement* with France ; and he had a considerable "jingo" following. York would never commit himself, but Lancaster approved. Richard had been obliged to recall him from Guienne, where the people from the first had protested against his rule ; but Richard had been able to gratify his uncle by sanctioning his marriage with Katherine Swynford, whom John, after nearly five-and-twenty years of cohabitation, proposed to make his lawful wife. In the course of January (1396), after the Christmas feasts, he rode from Langley to Lincoln and there was married to Katherine. Moreover, the King undertook to recognize the new Duchess at Court, and to legitimate her children, namely three sons John, Henry, and Thomas, and a daughter Joan, afterwards known as the Beauforts.

Preliminaries having now been adjusted, arrangements were made for a state crossing to receive the bride. On the 27th September York was again named Regent, and at 8 o'clock in the evening on the same day the Great Seal was placed in the hands of John of Scarle, Master of the Rolls ; Archbishop Arundel, the Chancellor, going with the King, who doubtless embarked immediately afterwards. A whole month was spent in settling



mutual guarantees against foul play, and ceremonial that would give equal honour to either King. All being settled, on the 26th October Richard, accompanied by the Dukes of Berri and Orleans, rode from Calais to an encampment prepared at Guisnes; Charles, under escort of Lancaster and Gloucester, moving simultaneously from Saint-Omer to similar quarters at Ardres. In front of each encampment was pitched a great Pavilion or Council Tent, the French one being of square shape and the English one round. Next day a line of 400 men of rank (*generosi*) was drawn up on either side of the space between the two Pavilions. The French lined one side; the English the other side. The Eight Hundred were allowed to wear the indispensable sword or dagger of social rank<sup>1</sup> but no armour; and no weapons except those worn by the Eight Hundred were allowed on the ground, nor any persons not specially invited. At 3 o'clock p.m. the two Kings stepped out of their tents. Huntingdon (John Holland) carried a sword of state before Richard, and the Count of Harcourt the like in front of Charles. Advancing by equal and simultaneous steps, the two Kings met at a central post, set exactly half-way between the two Council Tents. All knelt as the Royal pair doffed their hoods, shook hands and kissed. Wine and sweetmeats were then offered by the attendant Dukes, and costly presents exchanged. Charles then took Richard to his marquee, and afterwards accompanied him on a return visit to his. At each point more wine and sweetmeats were taken, and more presents exchanged. Finally, the two Kings kissed once more and took leave at the half-way point.

On the 28th October another meeting took place with the same formalities at the central post. Richard followed his father-in-law to the French Pavilion, and there at last business was taken in hand. Four hours the conference lasted. As the result we are told that the truce was ratified, and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance sealed.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday, 29th October, was given to rest; but on the morrow the little Queen was brought to the central spot, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy carrying her in their arms, and then and

<sup>1</sup> "*Ense vel cultello accingi honestatis causa*"; Saint-Denys; the documents in De Brienne, XXXVI. 35, 37, cited Wallon; Ann. Ric. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 306-310.



there formally delivered to her lord. She was taken to Calais with a train of ladies, twelve chariots full. A banquet in Richard's Pavilion closed the day. After dinner they mounted their horses, rode to the meeting point, and there took final leave. After that Richard made off to Calais, while Charles took the road to Paris.

Richard had been married by proxy, but not *in propria persona*. As an indispensable preliminary to the latter ceremony, the Archbishop of York 'executed' the Bull which sanctioned the marriage, and gave Richard absolution for having contracted it without previous leave (3 November). Next day Arundel gave the nuptial benediction to the Royal pair in the church of St. Nicholas, and Richard sealed a receipt for the 300,000 francs (£50,000).<sup>1</sup>

About the 20th November the Court returned to London; on the 23rd the young Queen was taken through Southwark to Kennington, without entering the City, so as to leave her first entry for the coronation day.<sup>2</sup>

The marriage service at Calais had been performed by the Archbishop of York, as we have seen. In fact the see of Canterbury was vacant, William Courtenay having closed an episcopate of more than ordinary distinction on the 21st July. Thomas of Arundel was at once named for the vacant Primacy, the first instance of a translation from the Northern to the Southern Province. On the 23rd November he resigned the Great Seal, which on the same day was delivered to Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter.

Richard had every reason to be grateful to Arundel for his management of affairs since 1391.<sup>3</sup> His administration had not been spotless; but Richard had been allowed to have his own way, as far as was at all compatible with constitutional government; his prerogative had received special recognition from Parliament; the supplies granted had been fairly liberal, and in some cases where conditions had been imposed they had ultimately been waived, and the money paid regardless of the condition

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 306-310.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas had been reappointed Chancellor on the 27th September 1391; Foed. VII. 207. He had previously held the office from October 1386 to May 1389; Foss, Judges.

under which it had been voted. The country had been prosperous and contented, because the King had condescended, in the main, to respect constitutional usages. But he was tenacious and unforgiving, and possessed with an insatiable craving for absolute power; his vanity demanded not merely the substantial exercise but the ostentatious parade of power. Arundel could not pander to this appetite, neither could Richard forget that he had been the Chancellor and right-hand man of the Appellants. For the King's schemes it was necessary to get the Seal out of Arundel's hands. As an excuse for turning him out of office—the first step towards his ultimate destruction—he was promoted to Canterbury.<sup>1</sup>

No special taxes were voted this year (1395-1396). The Customs begin to sink, but they still keep above the average, yielding £46,642 7s. 4d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	122,047	2	0

## 20 RICHARD II

1396-1397. The first business taken in hand with the New Year 1397 was naturally the coronation of the little Queen. On Sunday, 7th January, Isabelle was duly hallowed in the Abbey, Archbishop Arundel officiating.

A fortnight later Parliament met (22 January); and another act in the sad drama of Richard's reign began. The Chancellor, Bishop Stafford, opened the session with a sermon filled with the usual constitutional commonplaces. Two days later he imparted to the Commons the secret of the session. The King had promised his father-in-law to support him in an expedition to Lombardy; and he was anxious to fulfil his promise without delay. The Commons were staggered by this the first outcome of the French alliance, and asked to be allowed to defer their answer. Richard, finding that a strong opposition was being developed, sent Archbishop Arundel next day to inquire who had stirred the Commons to resist the King's purpose. The Commons, entering the House of Lords, protested that no man had ever suggested to them, nor had it entered into their heads, to oppose

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 311, 312.

the fulfilment of the King's 'honourable promise'; but that as he had 'granted' the 'voyage' of his own sole authority, they must be excused from undertaking any liability in connexion therewith. Richard took up the defence of his policy with his own mouth; explaining that in his view the French alliance was a matter of paramount importance for the realm. Finally, losing his self-control, he intimated that he intended to be 'free and at liberty to order his people to go to the support of his friends, and for that purpose to dispose of his own goods, as and when he pleased' (25 January).<sup>1</sup>

Eight days later Richard had again to enter into personal discussion with his lieges. On the 2nd February he sent for the Peers after dinner, and said that he had been given to understand that on the previous day the Commons had laid before them certain matters which appeared to him to infringe on his prerogative.<sup>2</sup> At his command the Chancellor gave an account of four Articles of Petition which had been brought forward. The first complained that the sheriffs were allowed to remain in office after the expiration of the legal year. The second Article complained of the unprotected state of the Scottish March. The third complained of the continued distribution of badges and 'liveries', in violation of the statute of the 16th year. The fourth Article complained of the 'great and excessive charges' for the King's Household, and of the 'multitude' of bishops and ladies maintained there; and suggested that the bishops should be sent home to look after their dioceses.

Of these charges only the second can be pronounced unfounded. The Border garrisons were not starved by the Government. The sums allowed seem sufficient. For Berwick and the Eastern March the Percys at this time were apparently drawing £3,400 a year; the Earl of Huntingdon received £664 for Carlisle and the Western March; while John Stanley had £400 as Constable of Roxburgh.<sup>3</sup> As for the first head of complaint it was no doubt an old one, but not a very serious one, all things considered. But the third and the fourth Articles opened up the two rankling grievances of the time. Richard's Household was not disorderly;

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 313, 314.

<sup>2</sup> "*Encontre sa Regalie & Estat & sa Roiale Libertee.*"

<sup>3</sup> These were the sums paid in the financial year 1397-1398; Issue Rolls, Mich. and Easter, 21 Rich. II.

his own tastes were refined, and his personal conduct unimpeachable.<sup>1</sup> But his Household expenditure was extravagant beyond precedent—far beyond that even of the magnificent Edward III in his “golden prime”. In the 44th year of his reign (1369-1370) Edward III drew for his Privy Purse (Chamber) and Household £25,000 out of a total national expenditure of £149,000. In his 21st year (1397-1398) Richard II lived to spend under the same heads £40,000 out of a total of £137,900.<sup>2</sup> Well might Will Langland ask

“ Where was evere any cristen kynge,  
that ȝe evere knewe  
that helde swiche an household  
be the half-delle  
as Richard in this rewme ? ”<sup>3</sup>

But the mere amount of this expenditure did not exhaust the constitutional grievance. The extravagant Household was doubtless part and parcel of the system attacked under the third head. Richard had conceived the idea of ruling England by the help of a vast personal following; an army of ‘livery-men’,<sup>4</sup> paid out of the public purse; distinguished from all fellow subjects by the wearing of the King’s WHITE HART; and so, indulged in every licence, and assured beforehand of judicial support in every suit and struggle. The expenditure for pensions and gifts in the year above named amounts to £23,000. £7,000 was the amount in the 44th year of Edward III, a man open-handed enough in all conscience. Allowing this amount as legitimate expenditure, we shall not err greatly if we assume that the excess in Richard’s spending was simply £16,000 spent for the purposes of political corruption.<sup>5</sup>

Richard defended himself with great ingenuity, passing over the delicate question of the badges in silence, and affecting to accede to the Commons’ wishes by agreeing to re-enact a statute which he knew well would not touch his own proceedings. On the fourth point he spoke with great warmth, declaring himself

<sup>1</sup> The silence of his enemies on this point is in itself conclusive in his favour.

<sup>2</sup> So the Issue Rolls for these respective years; cf. also J. Hardyng, 346.

<sup>3</sup> Pol. Poems, I. 411.

<sup>4</sup> “Liverers”; Langland.

<sup>5</sup> Issue Rolls as above. See also Langland’s poem, Pol. Poems, I. 368, and below. On the Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 21 Rich. II, we have a payment for eight “*cervi argenti de liberata Regis*”, given out on one day, m. 17.



'greatly aggrieved and offended'. He directed the Duke of Lancaster to charge the Speaker, John Bushey, to give up the name of the man who had suggested the offensive remonstrance.

Next day the Commons came before the Lords and produced the 'bill' with the name of 'Sir Thomas Haxey, clerk'. Haxey was apparently a proctor for the clergy attending Parliament under the *praemunientes* clause; he was an old pluralist and official, who knew exactly where to lay his finger on the weak points of the administration.

Later in the day the Commons were brought bodily before the King in Parliament, when they stooped to make an abject, not to say ignoble, apology; begging for pardon for their presumption; the cognizance of such matters as the number of lords and ladies at Court they knew appertained not to them, but to the King himself.

Richard accepted their excuses, and, by way of intimating his abandonment of the Italian campaign, informed them that he would not ask for any Subsidy. Haxey's case was remitted to the Lords, who declared that it amounted to high treason; he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, but the prelates claimed him as a clergyman, and he was delivered into their hands (5-7 February). Three months later he received a free pardon from the King.<sup>1</sup>

The session closed with outward appearances of general harmony and goodwill. The Commons renewed Tunnage and Poundage and the wool duties, which in fact had expired on St. Andrew's Day. Tunnage and Poundage were granted for three years, and the wool duties for five years, both at existing rates. The clergy in Convocations granted half Tenths. The Commons also gave the King leave to 'suspend or modify' the Statute of Provisors as he might be advised, any such suspension or modification, however, to be laid before the next Parliament. The King in return agreed once more to confirm the statute of the 16th year against party badges and liveries, as already stated.<sup>2</sup> He also gave his assent to a measure forbidding a lingering form

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 314-317.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 340-346; Statutes, 20 Rich. II. The statute against badges only forbade their being given to persons *not* resident in the household. But that was just what the King was doing on the largest scale.



of 'Purveyance', namely the impressment of post-horses by King's messengers. Lastly, the King found opportunities for dealing a blow at one man whom he was determined to crush, and for exalting two others whom he delighted to honour. The Earl of Warwick was found to have encroached on lands belonging to the See of Llandaff during a vacancy, when the issues would go to the Crown. He was condemned to be fined at the King's pleasure. Nottingham, the Earl Marshal, now the King's right-hand man, was authorized to carry a gold stick of office, a new distinction, during his life. Lancaster's children by Katherine Swynford had already been legitimated. John Beaufort the eldest was now created Earl of Somerset. The name of Beaufort had been given them from a place in the department of the Aude, now known as Montmorency, which had come down to John of Gaunt from Blanche of Artois, second wife of Edmund Crouchback, first Earl of Lancaster.<sup>1</sup>

Of this Parliament Richard assuredly had no right to complain; but the complaisance of the Commons only hastened his fall by encouraging him to give freer rein to his impulses. The charter of legitimization to the Beauforts was issued by Richard as 'Full Emperor of England'.<sup>2</sup> This vainglorious assumption disclosed the fact that the King was lending an ear to interested persons who suggested that he might be chosen emperor "in the place of his drunken brother-in-law Wenzel".<sup>3</sup> He was subsidizing the Rhenish princes: Rupert of Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, was receiving £1,000 a year; his son the younger Rupert had 1,000 marks a year; Archbishop Frederic of Cologne £1,000 a year; and to find this money Richard was extorting loans from all and sundry.<sup>4</sup>

If he really thought of imitating the example of Richard of Cornwall he was certainly picking out the most foolish precedent in English history.

A concession pressed upon Richard at Calais was the restitution of Brest. The place had been entrusted by the Duke of Brittany to the English, at a time when he was on their side, to be held by them during the war, and during the war only, they being

<sup>1</sup> Armitage Smith, 196.

<sup>2</sup> "*Come entier Emperor de son Roialme d'Engleterre*"; Rot. Parl. III. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs. Const. Hist. See Ann. Ric. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, II. 317-319.

bound to restore the place at the conclusion of a peace or long truce. The Duke and the King of France were now friends, and both demanded the surrender. But for nineteen years and upwards the place had been in the hands of the English, and defended at great cost. The parting with such a stronghold, on the highway to Bordeaux, would doubtless be thought a wanton sacrifice of England's interests. To overcome the King's scruples, however, French gold was again forthcoming, and Richard was offered 120,000 francs (£20,000) for Brest; a pretty good bargain considering that he had only paid £1,000 for it in the first instance. But the profit of the transaction only aggravated the King's offence in the eyes of his subjects. On the 12th June Brest changed hands. The appearance of the discharged garrison from Brest brought the general discontent in England to a climax: 'Calais will go next' was the word. Gloucester, giving utterance to these feelings, fiercely upbraided his nephew for selling his dominions.<sup>1</sup>

There is no reason to believe that Gloucester had formed any kind of plot against the King. But his rough uncompromising opposition, and the habitual contempt with which he treated the King for his indolent and unwarlike habits, must have been infuriating to a man of Richard's egregious pretensions. There was in fact but one conspirator in England, and he was the King. He had long been plotting the subversion of his subjects' liberties. The completion of the French alliance left him, as he fondly thought, free to act. When all was ready for the final blow, Nottingham 'informed' the King that Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick were hatching a dangerous conspiracy. Acting on this 'information', Richard on the 10th July invited the three to a banquet at Cold Harbour, Huntingdon's mansion near St. Paul's. Only Warwick attended; Gloucester made the excuse of ill-health. Arundel, \*always ill-mannered, sent no excuse, but retired to his castle at Reigate. After the dinner Warwick was arrested at the Chancellor's house at "Temple Barre" and sent to the Tower; while the Archbishop was induced to undertake to prevail on his brother to give himself up, the King pledging himself in the most solemn manner that he should suffer no bodily harm.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Ric. 201, 202; Eulog. III. 371, 372; Traïson, 6-8; Rot. Parl. III.

The King himself took horse the same night, and rode down to Essex to arrest his uncle Thomas. It is interesting to note who the men were that he took with him, being presumably the men whom he consulted, and to whom he looked for support in the desperate *coup d'état* that he was meditating. These were his half-brother, the notorious John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, and his nephew Thomas Holland III, the young Earl of Kent; Rutland, the King's nephew; Nottingham; young John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset; John Montagu, the new Earl of Salisbury, who had succeeded his uncle William on the 3rd June; Thomas, the young Lord le Despenser, called to the House of Lords the year before, and married to the Lady Constance, daughter of the Duke of York; and, lastly, there was William le Scrope, son of Richard, Lord le Scrope of Bolton. Scrope and Huntingdon were probably the only men older than the King himself, and the majority of them were mere boys.<sup>1</sup> The King and his party reached Pleshy in the course of the night. Gloucester was in bed when the King's arrival was announced. He presented himself half-dressed and attended by his chaplains. Richard arrested him with his own hand, and after a few sarcastic words ordered him to be taken to Calais, under the charge of the Earl of Nottingham.

Next day, 12th July, the Earl of Arundel was induced to surrender and was sent to Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight.

To allay the general consternation caused by these acts, Richard on the 15th issued a proclamation directing the sheriffs to inform the people that Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick had not been arrested on account of 'a former rising, as many believed', but solely on account of recent 'extortions' and misdeeds, as would be explained in Parliament. Three days later writs were issued for a session to meet at Westminster on the 17th September. The public mind, however, was greatly agitated, and popular feeling showed itself in prayers and processions for the safety of the three lords, and the conversion of the King's heart.<sup>2</sup>

In anticipation of the meeting of Parliament, Richard on the

436; Vox Clamantis, 399; and Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 93, a letter from Gloucester to the King pleading health.

<sup>1</sup> See Complete Peerage; and Beltz, Garter.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 320-322.

5th August held a Council of his young advisers at Nottingham ; and they resolved to follow Gloucester's own precedent by 'appealing' him and his friends in Parliament. To clench the matter, a "bill" of attainder was drawn up, to which the new Appellants were made to affix their seals without further ado. Richard was not disposed to relieve his friends of their share of responsibility. The charges were absolutely confined to events that happened between 1386 and 1388. Not a suggestion of any later offence was raised. Various preliminary measures were taken. Forced loans to the amount of £20,000 and upwards were exacted from the clergy and the towns.<sup>1</sup> A strong body-guard was raised in Cheshire, and the King's liverymen,<sup>2</sup> the new organization that he was creating to keep the country in thralldom, were summoned to muster at Kingston-on-Thames, for an armed entry into London, before the meeting of Parliament. In addition to this force, John of Gaunt was directed to bring 300 men-at-arms and 600 archers to Westminster ; York and Derby to bring minor contingents, all of course to terrorize Parliament, the appearance in arms at all being absolutely illegal. Steps also were taken for eliciting beforehand a confession from Gloucester, to avoid the necessity of bringing him to public trial ; a man so generally popular could not safely be produced in Parliament. Accordingly, William Rickhill, a Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas, was given a copy of the charges to be brought against the Duke, and commissioned to take down any answers that he might feel disposed to make. Rickhill went over to Calais along with Nottingham, the Captain of Calais, on the 7th September, and was introduced to Gloucester early next morning, when he unfolded his mission. Gloucester accepted the offer ; and after twelve hours' private consultation with his 'clerks', delivered to Rickhill a paper, which was carefully read over and authenticated in the presence of trustworthy witnesses. The document admitted "assente to the makynge of a commission in the which I amonges other restreyned my lord of his freedom and toke upon me amonge other Power

<sup>1</sup> See the list of receipts, Foed. VIII. 9 ; Eulog. III. 372. The city of London was taxed at 10,000 marks ; William of Wykeham at £1,000. The lay nobility were spared. None of their names appear.

<sup>2</sup> "*Gerentes liberatam de Cervo*" ; Foed. 13.



Reale". Further it was confessed that "I came armed into my lordes presence and into his Palais"; besides committing other acts "ageyns his Regalie and his Estate". For all of these "Thomas of Wodestok" apologized in the most abject terms; 'knowledging' that he had done "evyll and wykkedly"; but still contending that though he had offended his lord "unkyndely and untrewly", it was nevertheless his "menyng and wenyng to have do the best for his persone and for his estate". Finally, Thomas put himself "heygh and lowe in his Lorde's mercy"; praying for 'acceptance' "as lowlych as mekelych as any creature kan do or may do to his lyege Loord". At the last moment, Gloucester, as if unable wholly to ignore one damning count of which his answer had taken no notice, added, by word of mouth, that he also admitted that the King had spoken to him for Sir Simon Burley, and that he had answered and said 'that if he wished to be King it must be done'. Taking leave of the Judge, Gloucester begged him to come again next day in case he should think of something more to say.<sup>1</sup>

The confession was clearly made in the hope of gaining pardon. Perhaps some promise to that effect may have been conveyed through Nottingham. As, however, Gloucester had said as much as would suit the King's purpose, no time was lost in getting rid of him. When Rickhill presented himself next morning he was not allowed to see the Duke. Probably he had already been made away with.

On the 17th September the Parliament met. It had been carefully packed by the King's orders. Westminster Hall was under repair, and in consequence the session was held in an open wooden booth, specially built for the occasion, "betwixt the clocke tower and the dore of the great Hall". A lofty throne together with the seats for the peers occupied one end of the edifice; the Commons faced them at the other end; the King's new Appellants were ranged on one side, and a dock was provided for the Respondents, the old Appellants, on the other side. To meet any possibility either of opposition from within, or of popular intervention from without, the booth was surrounded

<sup>1</sup> See the document and Rickhill's statements in connexion therewith made on two occasions in Parliament; Rot. Parlt. III. 379, 431, 432; Genesis, II. 323-325.



by the newly-raised bodyguard of Cheshire archers, with bows ready strung. The Chancellor, Bishop Stafford, pointed the way in which affairs were intended to go. His opening 'sermon' is well described by one who heard it<sup>1</sup> as beginning and ending with the Royal prerogative. The text was "*Rex unus erit omnibus*".<sup>2</sup> The coronation oath was represented as intended, not for the limitation, but for the protection of the prerogative (an old pretence); so that 'one King might rule for all'. The Chancellor concluded with the disquieting intimation that an amnesty for past offences would be granted to all, excepting fifty persons to be named by the King; and excepting persons to be impeached in that Parliament. Proscription was thus openly announced as the order of the day.

As his chief agents in the Lower House the King had three knights, namely John Bushey, Thomas Green, and William Bagot. On the 18th September Bushey was elected Speaker for the second time, and business began at once. Bushey, advancing with the obeisances that Richard loved,<sup>3</sup> invited the King's attention to the derogatory Commission of the 19th November 1386, 'passed when the present Archbishop of Canterbury was Chancellor'. The document was produced, read, and repealed by acclamation, as having been extorted by force; and the repeal was expressly extended to the pardons granted to Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick in 1388; and also to a special pardon granted to Arundel in April 1394. The revocation of the pardons brought up Archbishop Arundel, who had already risen to answer Bushey's insinuations, but had been requested by the King to reserve his remarks for the morrow. His protest was again overborne, and the pardons cancelled. Lastly, the prelates and clergy were required to appoint a proctor to represent them in the impending trials for treason, lest the proceedings should be called in question by reason of their absence. The suggestion was groundless; the clergy were bound to be absent; canon law forbade them to take any part in capital cases. No objection

<sup>1</sup> Adam of Usk, p. 9. "*Omni die presentium compilator interfuit.*"

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxxvii: 22.

<sup>3</sup> "*Non humanos honores exhibuit Regi sed divinos, adinveniens verba, adulatoria et insueta . . . ut extentis brachiis supplicibus manibus eum adoraret,*" &c.; Ann. Ric. 210.

therefore could be raised on the ground of their absence. This point of the concurrence of the clergy was the only one on which any serious resistance was offered to the King's wishes. Eventually the clergy had to yield, and Thomas Percy, the Under-Chamberlain, was chosen proctor. The sitting rose in a state of excitement hardly kept within bounds by the presence of the archers.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th September Richard, addressing the Speaker, said that he had been pressed to give the names of the fifty persons to be excluded from the amnesty, but that it would not be convenient to do so, and that he would hold any man who should again venture to mention the subject worthy of death.<sup>2</sup>

The pardons having been revoked, the Respondents could now be attacked.

On the 21st September the eight new Appellants (see above) laid their accusation in due form against Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, and Thomas Mortimer.<sup>3</sup> Only Arundel, however, was produced. Lancaster, presiding as Lord High Steward, began by ordering the Earl's belt and his scarlet hood to be taken from him. Arundel answered the charges "with more passion than discretion"; and his accusers rejoined in like spirit. 'Traitor!' 'Liar!' were the retorts fiercely interchanged between him, Lancaster, and Derby, who, taking his cue from his father, basely joined the chorus against his old colleague. At one time all the eight Appellants were on the floor of the House, gesticulating wildly, and hurling defiance at the head of the Earl. Arundel could only plead, as Gloucester in his 'confession' had pleaded, that he had acted for the King's true interests, and that he had been twice pardoned. Bushey told him that the pardons had been repealed by the King, Lords, and faithful Commons. 'Faithful Commons!' exclaimed Arundel; 'Where are the faithful Commons? The faithful Commons are not here.' Richard reminded him how he had interceded in vain for Richard Burley. Finally, John of Gaunt declared the verdict and "the barbarous sentence". But the King commuted the latter for simple beheading.

From Westminster straight to Tower Hill the Earl was led by

<sup>1</sup> So Adam of Usk, who was present, II.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 325-326.

<sup>3</sup> Mortimer was charged with having been at Haringhay in arms on the 13th November 1337.

Nottingham, his son-in-law, and Kent, his sister's son ;<sup>1</sup> a strong body of archers hemmed them in. He maintained the same undaunted bearing to the last, threw his gold to the populace, felt the axe with his finger, and begged the executioner to make short work. At the first blow the head fell.<sup>2</sup>

Gloucester's case was called next. A writ was issued to Nottingham as Captain of Calais ordering him to produce his prisoner (21 September). On the 24th Nottingham gave the return to the writ that the prisoner had died at Calais while under his charge, no date being given. "But death did not save Gloucester from sentence." He was condemned as a 'notorious' traitor, and all his possessions were confiscated. Next day a garbled copy of his confession, minus his best points, his prayer for mercy and the date, was produced to justify the sentence. To have admitted that he was alive and well as recently as the 8th of the month would have been too damaging, especially as there seems to have been a popular belief that he had died before.

The Commons then asked for sentence on the Archbishop. The King explained that Arundel had 'confessed' to him in private, and thrown himself on his mercy. He was condemned to utter forfeiture, and banishment at the King's pleasure, Thomas Percy expressing the concurrence of the clergy.

On the 28th September the Earl of Warwick was brought up. "Unlike Arundel", he confessed his faults, throwing the blame on Gloucester, on the late Abbot of St. Albans, and a Westminster hermit-monk. He was condemned to forfeiture and banishment to the Isle of Man.<sup>3</sup>

Gloucester and Arundel suffered most unjustly. No doubt they had set the example of voting men to death in Parliament without trial, and so far they reaped as they had sown. But of any "balance of criminality" between them and Richard there could be no question. They had acted, however roughly or brutally, in defence of national rights ; Richard had broken every pledge and violated every duty for the gratification of his insensate lust of power.

Every precaution was taken to guard the sentences against the possibility of reversal, and every effort made to extend the

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham was married to Elizabeth of Arundel, the Earl's daughter ; Kent was son of his sister Alice ; Beltz, Garter, 217, 295.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis II. 328, 329.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 330.

scope of their penalties, both prospectively and retrospectively; the male issue of the culprits were declared for ever incapable of sitting in 'Parliament or Council', and their acts and grants invalidated as far back as the time of their original offences. On the other hand, Richard's friends received their rewards. On the 29th September an unprecedented list of titled promotions was announced. Derby became Duke of Hereford; Rutland Duke of Aumarle or Albemarle; Kent Duke of Surrey; Huntingdon Duke of Exeter; and Nottingham Duke of Norfolk. Somerset was created Marquis of Dorset; Despenser Earl of Gloucester; Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland; Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester; and William le Scrope Earl of Wiltshire. Lastly, as if in recognition of the feminine element in Richard's party, Margaret Countess of Norfolk, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton and grandmother to Nottingham, was raised to the rank of a Duchess.<sup>1</sup> The last day of the session was devoted to a grand function in the Abbey, when, in pursuance of the resolution of Parliament to that effect, the lords spiritual and temporal individually, and the knights of the shires collectively, were sworn on the Shrine of the Confessor to maintain intact all the acts of the session, 'saving the King's prerogative'. Whatever happened, the King must be free: free even to undo his own work. A dismal banquet ended the day (Sunday, 30 September); and then the servile Parliament was adjourned to meet again at Shrewsbury on the 27th January 1398.<sup>2</sup>

From the Treasurer's Accounts (L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, 'Subsidies') we learn that a lay Fifteenth and Tenth, to be raised by moieties, was granted by this Parliament, the grant being entered as of the 17th September, the last day of business. The first moiety yielded £16,644 12s., and the second moiety £17,533 18s. 4d. Convocations held in February granted half-Tenths.<sup>3</sup> For these we may allow £8,000. The Customs sink unaccountably to £35,676 9s. 10d.; but the total revenue rises, namely to the sum of £146,762 17s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	146,762	17	6

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. III. 355. Derby and Nottingham also received formal pardons for their concurrence in the Commission of 1386; id. 353. Derby had a certain claim to the Earldom of Hereford through his wife Mary Bohun. His name of Bolingbroke was taken from his birthplace, a castle in Lincolnshire.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Wake, 324.



## 21. RICHARD II

1397-1398. The Parliamentary recess (October 1397-January 1398) was employed in settling the compositions with the persons whom the King was pleased to 'exempt' from the benefit of the amnesty; and in providing a successor to Archbishop Arundel.

With regard to the former, we find fines "*coram concilio*", or "*per recognitionem in scaccario*", among the receipts for this term and the next, to the amount of £4,800. Loans also to the tune of £7,600 were raised, of which £2,800 were ultimately repaid.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the Archbishop, Boniface IX showed himself as obsequious as Urban VI had been, and followed his example. Arundel was translated to St. Andrews, just as Neville had been translated in 1388, and Roger Walden, the Treasurer, became Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup>

The Westminster session had been given to revenge for the past; the Shrewsbury Parliament unfolded the King's plans of government for the future.

The session was opened on the 28th January (1398), and it rose on the 31st; yet in those four short days it made Richard "to all intents and purposes an absolute monarch".<sup>3</sup>

Chancellor Stafford opened the proceedings with even less circumlocution than before; informing the lieges that they had been summoned so to arrange matters that for the future there should be 'not many Rulers within the realm, but one'. The Houses took up the bishop's cue as intended. The autumn session had invalidated all the acts and proceedings of the Commission of 1386 but not those of the Parliament of 1388. These were now utterly swept away at a blow, on the ground that the Parliament had been held without due authority, and against the will and liberty of the King. The repeal of the acts of 1388 was granted at the petition of the new Appellants, now reduced

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings Privy Council, I. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs; St. Andrews was only vacant in the sense that the existing Bishop, Walter Trail, was a Clementine. Boniface IX was elected 2nd November and crowned 9th of the month 1389, as the Italian Urbanist Pontiff. On the 21st January Guy of Mohun, Bishop of St. Davids, became Treasurer: Pell Rolls.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, II. 521.



to seven; Norfolk (late Nottingham) having already dropped into the rear rank of the race for life or death.<sup>1</sup>

Next day a new definition of the four articles of high treason was taken up; and they were declared to be compassing the death or the deposition of the King; renouncing the liege homage due to him; and 'raising the people to make war against him within his realm'. A supplementary provision introduced on the 30th January extended the penalties of treason so as to include any person who should attempt to reverse or annul 'any judgment, statute or ordinance rendered or made in the then Parliament'. One thing still troubled the King; he could not bind his successors. "*La perpétuité qu'il rêvait pour son œuvre lui échappait.*"<sup>2</sup> Again he appealed to his lieges. What would they say of an appeal to the Pope? Again the faithful Houses uplifted hand and voice in hearty approval.

The trials of Lord Cobham and Thomas Mortimer were then taken in hand. Cobham, who had been taken from the Charterhouse, was arraigned for having sat on the Commission of 1386, and was condemned as a traitor. But Richard was pleased to commute the sentence to banishment for life to the Isle of Jersey. Mortimer was still at large, and was condemned to the full penalty (29 January). On the 30th January a petition was received from Thomas le Despenser, the new Earl of Gloucester, praying for a reversal of the old sentences passed on his ancestors in 1321 and 1327. In the promotion of Despenser to an earldom we may again note an incident that recalls the events that led to the fall of Edward II.

The last day crowned the work of the session. The Commons granted the wool and leather duties, with an extra 6s. 8d. on the sack from aliens, and that for the term of the King's life, an unprecedented grant, and one for the moment quite uncalled for, as the existing grant would run to the month of November 1401. They also voted three half-Subsidies, to be raised at intervals of six months; and, last and most "suicidal" act of all, they proceeded to delegate their authority to a standing committee of

<sup>1</sup> 28th January; Rot. Parl. III. 357-359. It appears that Norfolk opposed the proposed repeal of the Acts of 1388; but see below.

<sup>2</sup> Wallon, II. 202. The writer's account of these closing years of the reign are well worth reading.

eighteen lords and six knights, the latter to be chosen from among themselves. The lords named were the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Aumarle, Surrey, and Exeter; the Marquis of Dorset; and the Earls of March, Salisbury, Northumberland, and Gloucester (Despenser), with Worcester and Wiltshire to represent the clergy. The commoners were Bushey, Green, John Russell, Richard Chelmswyk, Robert Teye, and John Golofre. The authority of this committee was in terms limited to the consideration of petitions left unanswered at the close of the session, and matters connected therewith. But the precedent was in itself a fatal one; and the limitation was probably not seriously intended to be observed. In return for all these concessions the Chancellor announced a general act of grace and pardon for all minor offences committed prior to the 31st January 1398; the King adding by his word of mouth that if any future Parliament should take exception to the grant of the wool duties for life, the act of grace would stand void.<sup>1</sup>

For the moment Richard certainly had achieved an astonishing success. He had secured a revenue for life, and obtained the delegation of the powers of Parliament to a body of men whom he had every reason to believe "devoted to his interests". The result had been obtained "by long waiting for an opportunity, by labour, and self-restraint and patience, combined with unscrupulous craft and unflinching promptitude of action".<sup>2</sup> The question remains, how came a man capable of embarking on such an enterprise to be treated by his own age with such contempt? He probably held less intercourse with the baronage than any of his predecessors, Edward II alone excepted.<sup>3</sup> He hated war: we hear little of him in connexion with the tilt-yard or the hunting field. He kept within a small circle of his own and gave much of his time to the society of elderly ladies, who doubtless flattered and caressed him, and gave him very bad political advice.<sup>4</sup> We have seen how he clung to the companion-

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 232-235.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 523, 524.

<sup>3</sup> See a complaint in a paper undated, but probably belonging to 1385 or 1386; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Parliament had complained of the influence of ladies in 1388 and 1397. Lady Poynings, one of those specially denounced in 1388, was still in favour at Court; Devon, Issues, 265. The presence of the Queen and other ladies at State banquets is specially noticed in 1391 and 1393; Walsingham, II. 204;

ship of Queen Anne. In fact, in mind as well as in body he exhibited much of a feminine type, and was doubtless derided by his people as a mere girl. 'Government by boys and widows' was Arundel's sarcastic description of his system.<sup>1</sup>

But there was "one little cloud on the horizon", though as yet no bigger than a man's hand. Two men there were who must have felt that their "original sin" could never really be forgiven, Hereford and Norfolk. Henry of Bolingbroke, who had so basely raised his voice against Arundel in his hour of trial, now sought with still greater baseness to earn forgiveness by tripping up Norfolk, late Nottingham, a man with whom he had been much more intimately associated than with Arundel. According to Henry's account, the only one that we have, the facts were as follows. Riding from Brentford to London in December, between the two sittings of Parliament, Norfolk imparted confidentially to Hereford his utter disbelief in Richard's good faith, and his conviction that they were both doomed men; Bolingbroke consulted his father, and he told Richard. A private meeting between the King and Henry was arranged, when it was settled that the Duke should formally impeach Norfolk in the then impending Shrewsbury Parliament.

On the third day of the Shrewsbury Parliament (30 January) Hereford rose, Norfolk not being present, and, after protesting that he spoke, not from malice or enmity, but only in obedience to the King's command, handed in a written report of the conversation to the effect above given. The matter was referred to the Parliamentary Committee. Norfolk had already been deprived of the command at Calais; now the Marshal's Staff, the gold Staff so recently conferred on him for life, was taken from him, and given to Surrey, late Kent.

The next step was to issue writs summoning Norfolk to appear within fifteen days to answer Hereford's charges. On the 23rd February the two Dukes met in Richard's presence at Oswestry, when Bolingbroke renewed his allegations, and Norfolk gave him the lie direct. Both were then ordered to present themselves

Mon. Evesh. 125. So during the Calais conferences. The admission of ladies to the fraternity of the Garter practically dates from this reign; Beltz, 245; as apparently their admission to the dinner-table.

<sup>1</sup> " *Par enfantz et conseil des vefues* "; Genesis, II. 336, 337.

again on the 28th April, at Windsor, where the Court would have been assembled for the usual Garter Feast (St. George's Day, 23 April). From Hereford bail was accepted, his father and three others pledging themselves for him, "*corps pour corps*"; but Norfolk apparently was detained in custody. Meanwhile Richard held a sitting of the Parliamentary Committee, to decide what course further proceedings should follow (Bristol, 19 March). It was resolved that, 'failing sufficient proof', the matters in dispute between Hereford and Norfolk should be decided 'according to the law of chivalry',<sup>1</sup> which was in fact the regular course. On the 29th April a grand Court of Chivalry was held at Windsor, the two litigants being present, and the Parliamentary Committee assisting. It would seem that the scope of the charges against Norfolk had been considerably enlarged at Oswestry; the murder of Gloucester being now included. Norfolk refusing to make any confession of treason, and no 'proof' being forthcoming, it was held that the dispute could only be settled by a wager of battle, and accordingly a 'day' was fixed for the encounter to take place, namely on Monday, 16th September, and at Coventry.

The sensation and excitement created by this announcement were unprecedented. All Europe wondered how the King could permit an encounter *à outrance* between men of such rank, one of them his cousin-german, and both of them Princes of the Blood, and the companions and associates of his boyhood.<sup>2</sup>

As the day drew near crowds flocked to Coventry. Popular feeling favoured Bolingbroke, who could pose as the avenger of the lost Gloucester.

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 16th September the lists were opened by Albemarle and Surrey, the new Constable and Marshal. At nine o'clock Hereford presented himself at the barrier and took the oath that he was come to do his duty against the false traitor Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk then came forward and was admitted within the lists with the same formalities as his opponent. All was ready; the two combatants were posted; the lances had been measured and delivered; the heralds had sounded the last "cry", "*Faites vos devoirs! Laissez les aller!*" Bolingbroke was setting his horse

<sup>1</sup> "*Par la cours de ley de chivalrie.*"

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 338, 339.



in motion to begin the attack, when Richard, rising in his place, threw down his staff and cried "Hold!"

"The King did throw his warder down;  
His own life hung upon the staff he threw;  
Then threw he down himself."<sup>1</sup>

Richard had resolved to get rid of both Dukes. Not one of their original offences had ever been forgiven. After two hours of mortal suspense, the antagonists remaining in the lists, Bushey appeared with a parchment roll containing the King's decision. Henry of Lancaster was informed that he must leave England for ten years. Norfolk was told that he must 'void the realm' for the term of his natural life. The two were ordered to depart within five weeks' time; they were forbidden to hold any intercourse direct or indirect with each other abroad, or even to live in the same country, under pain of condemnation as traitors. Their sentences were expressed to be passed by the authority of Parliament, of course as represented by the Committee.<sup>2</sup>

Both Dukes were sworn to obey the sentences before they left the lists. But as a favour each was allowed to appoint an attorney-general to represent him in his absence; a concession which in the case of Norfolk kept up a semblance of connexion with home. In the case of Hereford it had special reference to the probability of an early accession to the ancestral estates.

For perfidy, injustice, and vindictive spite, Richard's treatment of the two Dukes will hardly find a parallel in history.

Richard might now think his triumph complete. Gloucester and Arundel were dead; Warwick was in prison. Hereford and Norfolk had been utilized for the ruin of their former associates, and then cleverly got rid of; Lancaster was past giving trouble; York never had given any. The Parliamentary Committee placed at the King's disposal all the powers of the national assembly, and if any question with the Church should arise a subservient Pope filled St. Peter's chair at Rome. With both spiritual and temporal arms at command, Richard could look forward to a serene period of unfettered autocracy such as his soul loved.

But of the two frail bulwarks that seemed to shelter Richard's throne one had been removed before Bolingbroke left England.

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part ii.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 337-342.



On the 20th July (1398) Roger III Earl of March, the heir presumptive, fell in Ireland, in a skirmish, fighting the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles who had occupied lands in Leinster claimed by him. His loyal and submissive attitude towards Richard would have been a clear obstacle in the path of any aspirant to the Crown. The devolution of his rights to a son six years old reduced the obstacle to a minimum. The other protection went shortly. On the 3rd February 1399 John of Gaunt was gathered to his fathers. He passed away in the castle at Leicester in his fifty-ninth year, his end being doubtless hastened by bitterness at the cruel injustice with which his years of grovelling service had been requited by the King.

For the Subsidy and a half voted by Parliament we may again allow £53,000. In March the Convocation of Canterbury under the lead of the new archbishop granted a Tenth and a half, by moieties; in the autumn the Northern clergy had voted half a Tenth.<sup>1</sup> The first two moieties of the Canterbury grant yielded respectively £7,569 4s. 2d. and £7,614 2s. 8d. The returns from York remain wanting. Customs, £44,832 3s. 1d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	124,532	2	0

## 22 RICHARD II

1398-1399. In October Norfolk sailed for the Rhine; went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and returning by way of Venice, died there a year later of the plague. Bolingbroke went to Paris where the French Court gave him a cordial welcome, too cordial to please Richard, and among the French princes Henry took up his quarters patiently to abide the course of events.

The death of John of Gaunt left Richard face to face with his most dangerous antagonist. Ignoring the strength of the immense feudal following of the House of Lancaster, and its general popularity as the traditional guardian of the national liberties, he proposed to reduce Bolingbroke to impotence by confiscating his inheritance. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee held on the 18th March (1399) the letters patent, by which Henry had been allowed to appoint attorneys to take seisin

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 232, 233.

on his behalf in his absence, were cancelled, on the ground, forsooth, that they had been granted through 'inadvertence', the discovery having been made that the King's decision at Coventry amounted to a sentence of forfeiture with perpetual banishment.<sup>1</sup>

Richard had, perhaps, already gone too far to draw back; nevertheless, by this crowning act of injustice and bad faith he completed his own unpopularity, and gave Henry an indisputable grievance, both in the eyes of England and of all Europe. The Duke at once put himself into communication with the exiled Archbishop Arundel, next to himself Richard's most formidable enemy, and one no more disposed to submit to exile than himself.

Having thus provoked his adversaries to the utmost, Richard now gave them their opportunity by undertaking a most ill-timed and uncalled-for journey to Ireland. In contemplation of the King's departure, all Richard's Liverymen were summoned to London to receive orders. The other measures taken for impressing shipping; collecting victuals and transport; raising money; and keeping the country quiet in the King's absence were all so much more fuel to feed the flame of public discontent.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact there was no abnormal state of disorder in Ireland; nothing to call for a Royal visit.

On the 18th May the Duke of York was once more appointed Regent, but the conduct of affairs was entrusted to the hated quartet: William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, the Treasurer; John Bushey, the Speaker; William Bagot and Henry Green. No language was too strong, no simile too coarse to express the popular indignation against these chosen instruments of oppression.<sup>3</sup>

All being ready, the King moved down to Milford. His retinue included the Earls of Gloucester (Despenser), John the young Earl of Salisbury, and the Lords Grey of Ruthin, Morley, and Bardolf; Richard also took with him Guy of Mohun, Bishop of St. Davids, late Treasurer; Thomas Merkes, Bishop of Carlisle, and divers hostage youths, chief of whom were Humphrey, son of the late Duke of Gloucester; and Henry, son of Bolingbroke,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 344-346.

<sup>2</sup> Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 21 Rich. II; 26 December 1397, orders for preparation; also Devon, Issues, 266. See Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 339.

<sup>3</sup> See Pol. Poems, I, 163.

the future Henry V. Ten days the King was delayed by foul winds. On the 29th May he winged his flight, leaving England free to open her arms to the Duke of Lancaster.

To follow up the King's movements. On the 1st June he landed at Waterford. The natives had risen, provoked by a gross breach of faith committed by Richard. Lands belonging to the wife of Art MacMurragh, which had been specially guaranteed to her in 1395, had been conferred by the King on the newly created Duke of Surrey, Thomas Holland, previously Earl of Kent. After three weeks' delay Richard made an advance, only to find the Irish Prince safely entrenched in an impregnable wood, with 3,000 men 'as bold and handy as any I ever saw'.<sup>1</sup> The King called for pioneers. Two thousand five hundred friendly natives were sent to the front; their exertions opened a way, and the army pushed on in order of battle. But MacMurragh still declined to come out, though his men skirmished actively with the English van, hurling darts that neither hauberk nor plates could withstand. Absolute want, however, shortly forced the English to fall back on the coast. We are told that five men would be glad to share a loaf between them, and that many had to go for days without bread.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of ships with stores brought some relief; but Richard, sick of the campaign, ordered a retirement to Dublin. Meanwhile all hostile territory had been ravaged. MacMurragh, however, who claimed to be 'High King' (*Ardrigh*) of Ireland, maintained a defiant attitude, and declared that for all the treasures of the sea he would not stoop to sue for peace. Eleven days the active campaign had lasted. Between them Richard's two expeditions exhibit the English rule in Ireland at its lowest.<sup>3</sup>

Bolingbroke lost no time when he heard of Richard's departure for Ireland. Late in June he left Paris by way of Saint-Denis, went down to Boulogne, and there took ship. Some fifteen lances, and perhaps forty to sixty men in all made up the party, which, however, was graced by the presence of the exiled Archbishop, his nephew, and the Lord Cobham who had escaped from Jersey.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the metrical History by Jean Créton, a Frenchman who was with Richard; *Archæologia*, XX. 23, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Créton, *sup.*

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 348-350.

<sup>4</sup> Adam of Usk, however, gives Bolingbroke's numbers as nearly 300.

The sailing of an armed squadron could not escape notice, and Henry seems rather to have courted attention by touching at various points, as if to sound public feeling, and notably at Pevensey, the Arundel stronghold. But the strength of his party lay in the North, and accordingly, skirting the east coast, he finally landed at Ravenspur<sup>1</sup> near Bridlington, about the 4th July.

He came not unexpected. Ever since the promulgation of the decree that robbed him of his inheritance, he had been in communication with his numerous sympathizers and friends, and Richard's still more numerous enemies.

" In Holdernesse he landed with fourty menne  
Wher the lordes of Lyncolnshire hym mette ;  
Bothe Wyloughby Roos and Darcy then.  
And Beaumont also with penouns proudly bette,  
By ordinance of Henry Percy sette  
Erle of Northumberland and Sir Henry  
His soone, wardeyns of the Marche severally." <sup>2</sup>

Henry's first advance, however, was directed towards Pickering, a Royal castle which admitted him without demur. After a short stay he moved on to Knaresborough, which also surrendered, but not without hesitation. Another stage brought him to Pontefract, one of his own castles, and a third to Doncaster. By that time the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the Baron of Greystock, and others above named had joined him. The importance which the movement was now assuming, and perhaps the divided opinions of those who from one motive or another had fallen in with it, made a declaration of the Duke's intentions necessary. He proclaimed upon oath that he had only come to claim his inheritance and to reform the government.

The declaration of course must simply be regarded as put out to disarm opposition, allay excitement, and give time for the situation to develop. If Henry and Arundel had already sinned beyond forgiveness, what possible room for pardon could be left after a fresh outbreak? Richard's own conduct had left no room for any middle course.<sup>3</sup> In London the first alarm was

<sup>1</sup> The place apparently had already ceased to exist as a town. "*Ubi quondam fuit villa*" ; Ann. Ric. "*In loco applicari insolito vix cum ccc. applicuit*" ; Usk.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hardyng, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, II. 350-352.



apparently sounded about the 3rd of July, when the Regent was informed of armed cruisers in the Channel and of a landing actually effected at Pevensey. On the 7th July he held a council at St. Albans, and gave orders for manning castles and calling out levies to muster at Ware. But in spite of double pay offered by Scrope, it was found that very few were disposed to draw the sword in earnest, saving always the fighting Bishop of Norwich, Henry le Despenser, who remained true to his antecedents. On the 10th July the levies summoned from Yorkshire were countermanded, for fear of trouble from the Scots. Moving helplessly between Westminster, Aylesbury, and Oxford, on the 20th July the Regent, in answer to his own demand for explanations, had received from Henry a request for a personal interview, and the doomed four, Scrope, Bagot, Bushey, and Green, finding that York was beginning to vacillate, fled to Bristol, to put themselves into communication with the King, the Regent following their steps. Meanwhile Bolingbroke was coming down upon them by way of Derby, Leicester, Kenilworth, and Evesham, the first three being family strongholds. On the 27th of the month the converging forces met, and uncle and nephew had an amicable interview outside Berkeley Castle. York accepted Henry's explanations, and joined him with all his following, except the Bishop of Norwich, William Elmham, and a few subordinates who were all placed under arrest. Personally the Duke of York was a man of no weight. But he was the King's uncle and representative; and his adhesion seemed to clothe Henry's subsequent acts with the authority of Richard's own government.

Next day the combined forces advanced to Bristol, and the Duke of York used his influence with the Constable, Peter Courtenay, to procure the surrender of the castle. With the town and castle were surrendered the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushey, and Green. Bagot had gone over to Ireland. On the 29th July the three were put through a form of trial before the Constable and Marshal of Henry's army, and then straightway beheaded; just as Henry le Despenser had been executed in 1326.

The fall of Bristol proved the turning-point of the revolution. Richard, who had landed in South Wales some ten days before, was thus cut off from the southern half of his dominions; the



only danger now was that he might make for Cheshire, the Royalist stronghold, and establish himself there. Towards Chester, therefore, Henry turned his steps without the loss of a single day. On the 30th July he marched to Berkeley; and from thence advancing along the Welsh March, took possession of Chester on the 9th of August.<sup>1</sup>

Richard's movements after the time of Henry's landing fall into significant obscurity. The one thing that comes out clearly is his utter helplessness in the face of the crisis. The news must have reached him on the 11th or 12th July, not much later than it reached London.<sup>2</sup> He was induced to divide his forces; sending Salisbury over to North Wales, while he and the main army crossed over to South Wales. Salisbury sailed to Conway at once, and within four days had raised a considerable force. Richard himself did not leave Dublin till the 17th July; two days later he landed at Milford. The most leisurely advance would have brought him to Gloucester or Bristol in ample time to forestall Henry's attack. But Richard, distrustful of his English subjects, resolved to stake his all on the fidelity of Welshmen. As Salisbury had been sent into North Wales, so now Gloucester (Despenser) and Worcester (Thomas Percy) were commissioned to raise men in Glamorgan, the King remaining at Carmarthen. Neither met with much response. Anyhow, Richard, panic-stricken, suddenly took horse and rode off by night in the disguise of a priest, to join Salisbury at Conway. Surrey, Exeter, Gloucester, Stephen Scrope, and the three Bishops of Carlisle, Lincoln, and St. Davids, accompanied him; also one William Ferriby, a notary; Janico d'Artas, a Gascon; and Richard Magdalen, a confidential clerk or secretary, who bore a remarkable likeness to the King, fourteen persons in all. This craven flight must have been taken on hearing of York's defection. Blank was Richard's dismay when, on reaching Conway about the 31st July, he found that Salisbury's fickle levies, tired of waiting for a King who did not appear, had broken up and gone home. Among the few who remained to greet their King were the Welsh chiefs Owain Glendwr and perhaps Guillim ap Tudor.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, II. 350-354.

<sup>2</sup> The Council called on receipt of the news was held on a Saturday; Créton, 312. This must have been the 12th July.

At Carmarthen, Albemarle and Worcester, abandoned by the King, broke up the Household which had been left with them; disbanded the army, seized the King's treasures, and made off to join the Duke. Riding in detached parties they fell into the hands of the Welsh, who stripped them of their ill-gotten plunder and sent them off in sorry plight.<sup>1</sup> Thus it will be seen that Richard was not deserted by his men till he had deserted them.

All hope of successful resistance in the field being gone, Richard consented to allow the two Hollands, Surrey and Exeter, to open negotiations with Henry at Chester (9 August?). The news of the dispersion of Albemarle's force which followed shortly, threw the King into a fresh paroxysm of terror. He advanced to Beaumaris; the castle was in a dismantled condition, and he had to sleep on straw. He fell back on Carnarvon, but found things no better there; weary and dispirited he returned to Conway. He is represented as dividing his time between invocations of the Madonna and curses on the Duke, at times bursting into tears.<sup>2</sup>

Richard's envoys were not allowed to return. Exeter, who was married to Bolingbroke's sister, Elizabeth of Lancaster, was received as a friend, while Surrey was consigned to the castle. On the 14th August Archbishop Arundel and the Earl of Northumberland were commissioned to deliver Henry's answers to Richard's overtures. The Primate, however, appears to have been relieved of the disagreeable duty of holding an interview with the fallen King, to be the bearer of representations that might never be fulfilled. Northumberland went alone, with a strong military escort—four hundred lances and a thousand archers. On the third day, Sunday, 17th August, he reached the banks of the river Conway which had to be crossed, as the castle stood on the left or farther shore. The army, however, was left at a distance, a few miles in the rear, and behind a hill, while the Earl sent a herald over the water to demand a safe-conduct for himself. The passport having been granted, Northumberland crossed the river and had an interview with Richard, at which Bishop Merkes and Salisbury assisted. No official record of what passed was penned, but, according to the general understanding

<sup>1</sup> Créton, 326-328, 336. The writer heard the story eight days later. Adam of Usk saw some of the leaders brought to Henry's camp in pitiful condition; so too Ann. Ric. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Créton, 336-340.

in England, Richard was induced to agree to abdicate and to accompany Bolingbroke to London, to meet Parliament, on condition of receiving a guarantee for his own personal safety with suitable maintenance, and for the safety of eight followers, among whom were Surrey, Exeter, Albemarle, Salisbury, Gloucester, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the clerk Magdalen. It would seem that Richard endeavoured to comfort his followers by assuring them that the English would certainly return to their allegiance if they were once fairly confronted with their King, and that then the traitors would have their reward.<sup>1</sup>

The wretched man frankly confesses to his duplicity, as if to justify beforehand any duplicity on the part of his adversaries.

Whatever the terms offered to the King may have been, Northumberland swore to them. Richard was then pressed to lose no time in going to Chester to meet the Duke; and accordingly he started on the morrow, Northumberland going in advance. Descending the hill behind which Northumberland's men had been left in ambush, the King's party found themselves surrounded, and at the mercy of the Earl. Richard's last hope seemed dashed, and he broke down utterly. They halted at Rhuddlan for dinner, pressing on to Flint for a sleepless night.

Next morning, Tuesday, 19th August, Henry appeared betimes at Flint. Spurring hotly in advance of the others came the Archbishop, together with Albemarle and Worcester. Richard drew Arundel aside and held a long colloquy with him. The substance, as reported by Salisbury to the outer circle, was that the King might consider his personal safety guaranteed.<sup>2</sup>

After dinner—a dismal meal prolonged to the utmost in doubt as to what might follow—Richard had his interview with Henry in the castle yard. The Duke approached in due form, armed but bareheaded, and bowed twice. The King, who had recovered his self-possession, then doffed his hood—the priest's hood that he still wore—and greeted him. 'Hail, fair cousin of Lancaster.' Bolingbroke bowed a third time, and in answer to the King's

<sup>1</sup> Créton, 354-357. The writer saw and frankly admits that neither side meant to keep faith. "*L'un pensoit mal et l'autre pis.*" But he thought the King's conduct the more excusable. "*Force n'a loi.*"

<sup>2</sup> "*Qu'il n'aroit nul mal de son corps*"; Créton, 371. For greater accuracy he gives this part of his narrative in prose.

greeting told him bluntly 'that he was come to help him to govern better than he had done'. Richard preserving his dignity, replied, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, if ye be pleased so are we.' After a short interval Henry ordered a horse for the King, and, without further ado, led him off to Chester. There he was cruelly placed in charge of his two bitterest enemies, the sons of the late Arundel and Gloucester. That same night writs were sealed at Chester in the King's name, for a Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 30th September.<sup>1</sup>

Next day (Wednesday, 20 August) Henry dismissed a large proportion of his troops, and then started for London with his captive. On Monday, 1st September, they reached London; the Mayor and City Gilds meeting them five or six miles outside the town; the King was greeted with respect, but the real plaudits were reserved for the victorious Duke. Two miles from the City the party divided; Richard was entrusted to the civic authorities to be escorted to Westminster, while Henry made a circuit, so as to be able to enter the City by 'the chief gate' (Bishopsgate?). Next day Richard was quietly sent by water to the Tower, never again to be seen in public. From Créton's illumination we learn that, whether willing or unwillingly, Richard to the last had retained his clerical disguise.<sup>2</sup>

Richard had agreed to come to London in order to be confronted with Parliament. But it would have been very dangerous to produce in public a man capable of such sudden and effective action. A bold appeal to the rights of a crowned anointed King might have turned the tables in a moment, and captured the nation as he had captured it in 1389. Accordingly, pressure was put upon him to make him resign before Parliament met.<sup>3</sup> On the 29th September, at 9 o'clock in the morning, a representative deputation, which included the Earls of Northumberland and

<sup>1</sup> Lords' Report, Appendix. Proclamations for observing the King's peace were also issued; Foedera, 84, 85. All writs, &c., down to the time of Richard's deposition were tested as if in his presence. "*T. R. ipso.*"

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, II. 354-360.

<sup>3</sup> See the declaration of the Percys preserved by one manuscript of Hardyng, 352 (ed. Ellis). The visit of Adam of Usk to the King on the 21st September was probably connected with these attempts (Usk, p. 29). He found Richard in such a wild state that he came away deeply moved. His account of Richard's querulous maunderings corresponds exactly with that given by Créton.



Westmorland, with bishops, barons, judges, doctors of law and notaries public, waited on Richard in the Tower, with a ready drawn deed of resignation for his signature. According to the official report laid before Parliament, Richard did not repudiate his promise. But he demanded a personal interview with the Duke and the Archbishop of Canterbury; in the meantime he asked to have a copy of the deed left with him for his consideration. Henry naturally shrank from the painful ordeal of facing his captive—with all that the interview might entail. But as Richard remained firm he submitted to come, and in the course of the afternoon presented himself with the Archbishop and the deputation. We are told that Richard had a few words apart with the two, and that then, turning cheerfully towards the general circle,<sup>1</sup> he expressed his readiness to sign and at once proceeded to do so. He did the thing handsomely; insisted upon reading out the contents of the parchment with his own mouth; signed with his own hand; expressed a personal wish that Henry might be his successor; and placed his signet ring upon his finger.

The report, as a purely one-sided account, is open to all suspicion. But there is a *naïf* simplicity about it that inspires confidence. Taking it as we find it, with the evidence that we have had as to Richard's behaviour and frame of mind, if he signed cheerfully, is it possible to doubt that he had received from Henry and Arundel personal confirmations of the pledge of safety, on which his promise of abdication had originally been based?

By the deed Richard absolved his subjects from all "ligeance and obeisance"; renounced in the most explicit terms all "state of Kyng and of Lordschipe"; acknowledged that he was, and had been, "nought wurth" to govern; and declared that he was 'not unworthy' to be deposed for his notorious demerits. To complete the thing, he appointed the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Hereford his proctors, to lay his abdication before the Estates.

Nothing could be more explicit in the way of abdication. But Henry's advisers thought that an abdication might be questioned on the ground of coercion, and that to make assurance doubly

<sup>1</sup> "*Hilari vultu hinc inde inter eos exhibito, prout circumstantibus videbatur*"; Rot. Parl. III. 416.



sure it should be fortified by deposition. Accordingly, elaborate articles of impeachment of Richard of Bordeaux, with a statement of the claims of Henry of Lancaster, had been elaborated by a committee of bishops and doctors armed with the deed of resignation. This double procedure had been suggested by the Duke of York, "who on this one occasion comes forward as a politician".<sup>1</sup>

On Tuesday, 30th September, Parliament met at Westminster. All Richard's friends had been duly summoned, and apparently were present.<sup>2</sup> A dense crowd filled the lower part of the great Hall. The throne was draped but vacant. Henry took the seat formerly occupied by his father, next to that of the Bishop of Carlisle. After an opening sermon by Arundel, Richard's proctors produced the deed of resignation which was read aloud both in English and Latin. Archbishop Arundel as Premier Peer at once rose to declare for acceptance. All the rest having followed suit without a dissentient voice, he went on to move for the production of certain "Articles of Defaults", that the grounds on which Richard had admitted himself to be worthy of deposition might be known and published. The coronation oath was first recited by way of text; thirty-three counts of accusation then followed, in which all the wrong-doings of the reign were "circumstantially recounted".<sup>3</sup>

The long indictment having been read, all the Estates, challenged individually and collectively, held that they formed a sufficient ground for deposing the King, regard being had to his own previous confession of insufficiency. Not a voice was raised by any one of the old White Harts on Richard's behalf. A representative commission was then appointed to notify the decision of Parliament to Richard, with a renunciation of fealty and homage.

The throne being vacant, Henry rose in his place, and proceeded to lay claim to it in carefully worded sentences, in which he insinuated rather than asserted three claims: descent from Edmund Crouchback, conquest, and Parliamentary election. The suggestion of any right through Edmund of Lancaster was

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 523; Usk, 29. The latter served on the committee.

<sup>2</sup> So Créton, 385. He had already gone back to Paris, but had his account of the Parliament from a French priest who had come to England with Hereford. He names Surrey, Exeter, Salisbury, and 'the Marquis', Dorset, as present.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, II. 530.

"a mere fabrication . . . unworthy of a King". Nevertheless Henry came to the throne as the political heir of the House of Lancaster; as the exponent of the principles "for which Thomas of Lancaster was believed to have contended". The accession of Henry IV made a Parliamentary title "indispensable to royalty" for all time to come. Richard was rejected because he was "insupportable". No sovereign was ever more entirely the author of his own ruin.<sup>1</sup> Bolingbroke was taken, not because he was wished for or very popular, but because he was the only man who could rid the country of King Richard.<sup>2</sup>

Henry was then formally enthroned by the two Archbishops. On the morrow the deputation waited on Richard at the Tower to intimate his deposition. He accepted the situation meekly, only expressing a hope "that his cosyn would be good lord to him"; and that at any rate a liberal maintenance would be provided for him.

Comparing the painful circumstances that attended the depositions of Edward II and Richard II, it must be said for the latter that he received the intimation of his fate with much greater dignity and self-possession. We may follow the dethroned monarch to his dismal end. Two days later Richard was taken from the Tower by night and sent to an undisclosed place of confinement in the country. An unsuccessful rising on his behalf attempted in January 1400 sealed his doom. By the 14th February he had passed away; "pyned to death" or "for-hungred"—as all England understood—that is to say, done to death by starvation and petty torture. From Pontefract the corpse was brought to London; lay for two days in state in St. Paul's; and finally was entombed in Westminster Abbey.

The harm done by Richard did not pass away with his life. His duplicity had demoralized the political atmosphere of the country, and sown the seeds of civil war.

With respect to the revenue of our year, the 22nd of Richard II (1398-1399), the striking thing is that with a revolution in full swing it reaches the sum of £144,222 9s. 8d., a figure distinctly above the average. The handsome return was due to the liberal grants of the previous year, but the easy collection shows how little the kingdom was disturbed by the events in progress, and how

<sup>1</sup> Oman, *Pol. Hist.* IV. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, II. 533.

completely one-sided the political movement was. The Treasury was open till the 12th July; and after that time in the ordinary course of affairs little money would come in. The returns from the Customs, on the other hand, were the lowest but one of the reign, namely £33,696 5s. 2d.

	£	s.	d.
Revenue . . . . .	144,222	9	8

Approaching the close of the century, if we may carry a retrospect back to its beginning, constitutional progress may be noted in several directions. Edward II could still attempt to lay a tallage; in his time an English King could still appeal to the Pope for support against enemies, foreign or domestic, and receive at his hands grants taken from the pockets of the English clergy. Richard's Popes had to take their orders from him. In his reign the illegality of the imposition of the smallest direct or indirect tax without the consent of Parliament is fully recognized. The Chief Minister of the Crown is now no longer the King's Chancellor (*Cancellarius Regis*), or private Secretary, but simply the Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Realm, with his seat established at Westminster, and therewith his Equitable Jurisdiction has come into existence. In the time of the Second Edward we found the hereditary revenues of the Crown exceeding those derived from the grants of the people; under Richard II we find the proportion exactly inverted, and along with that a notable expansion in the revenue becomes apparent. For the last five years of Edward I we had an annual revenue of £58,560 a year, of which £20,000 in round numbers were derived from Customs.<sup>1</sup> Under Edward II the revenue rose to perhaps £91,000, of which about £12,600 a year seems to have been derived from Customs. With Edward III the revenue rises to £140,000, of which £48,000 are derived from Customs, while our Tables show that under Richard II the revenue, for the years of the reign for which the accounts are complete, maintained an average of nearly £140,000 a year, the return from the Customs, as the accounts stand, again averaging £48,000 in round numbers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 83, and Table III.

<sup>2</sup> See Tables I and II. On Table I the reader will miss the heading of "Wardrobe Receipts" with which we have been troubled since the time of Henry III; the Wardrobe expenditure is now entirely supplied by drafts from the Treasury.

Under Edward III we saw how helpless the Commons were in the hands of the King, perpetually protesting, but always having to submit in the end. With Richard II they attain to a better position, able to assert themselves, but only on the tacit condition of keeping up the rates of duty.

Richard's revenue exhibits some considerable fluctuations, but not any so great as those of the reign of Edward III. It is also satisfactory to be able to say that the fluctuations were due to the action rather of Parliament than of the King. The receipts in the main rose and fell according as Parliament opened or closed its hand, and the expenditure had to adjust itself to the receipts. The system of borrowing was not exploded, but it was kept within much more moderate bounds, and a much larger proportion of the borrowed money was repaid. It will be seen from our Table I that the largest receipts of the reign were those of the first and third financial years; namely between Michaelmas 1377 and Michaelmas 1380; when the nation was still eager for the prosecution of the war, and three and a half Fifteenths were granted by Parliament, and two Tenths granted by Convocation, besides the two poll-taxes, and Customs at the highest rates. The aggregate receipts for those three years came to £604,000, making an average of more than £200,000 a year. Of the receipts of single years the lowest were those of the 13th year (1389-1390), which amounted to only £81,000; on the whole we get an average of £139,000-£140,000 as already stated. The heavy receipts of the term Michaelmas 9 (1385) were the results of the taxes voted for John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain, and those of Michaelmas 18 (1394) the product of the money raised for the King's first expedition to Ireland.

I. Customs. Taking up the several branches of the revenue, we may begin with the Customs as the most important. We have seen that they could contribute as much as a third or even a half of the entire revenue shown by the Pell Rolls. And here again, we may state that our Customs' Accounts are taken from the returns of the collectors of the several ports, and that they include all sums paid away by assignment, which latter would not figure in the Treasurer's Accounts; so that the Customs' Accounts are more complete than the Pells which, as we have said before, do not really give the full revenue.

The rates of duty levied during the reign were as follows. At



the King's accession in 1377 the existing rates were continued, namely from natives a 'Subsidy' or sur-tax on wool of 43s. 4d. on the sack, and 86s. 8d. on the last of leather, making with the hereditary *Antiqua* or *Magna Custuma* 50s. and 100s. respectively. Aliens, with the extra *Nova* or *Parva Custuma* to which they were liable, would have to pay 53s. 4d. and 106s. 8d. With wool at £5 the sack natives would thus have to pay a tax of 50 per cent. The Subsidies on general goods known as Tunnage and Poundage were also granted at the existing rates of 2s. on the tun of wine and 6d. on the £1 value of general merchandise. In 1386 these last dues were raised to 3s. and 12d. ; in 1390 the Poundage was reduced to 6d. to be raised again to 12d. ; and at 3s. and 12d. Tunnage and Poundage remained to the end of the reign. With respect to wool and leather in 1378 extra surtaxes of 13s. 4d. on the sack and 26s. 8d. on the last were imposed on aliens ; but only to be remitted next year. In 1390 the 'Subsidies' were reduced to 33s. 4d. and 66s. 8d. ; but only to be raised again next year to the old 43s. 4d. and 86s. 8d., and at that they remained to the end of the reign.

But the Customs' Accounts now disclose a further petty item of revenue from wine, which till now we have not been able to get at, given under the head of Butlerage, or the returns of the *Pincerna Regis* or Chief Butler. This was simply the surviving *Recta Prisa*, still taken from natives not being freemen of the City of London or of the Cinque Ports, who enjoyed special exemptions. From this we learn that natives in general were not covered by the compositions under which aliens paid tunnage as a composition for *Prisage*.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that the Butlerage accounts are very defective ; the average of the seven years for which accounts are extant may be taken as showing £230 a year, in round numbers.

II. In dealing with the direct grants voted by Parliament or Convocation, we cannot lay before the reader the complete return that we give in connexion with the Customs' Accounts. The returns of the Subsidies, both lay and clerical, are confused and irregular ; and returns from different reigns are mixed up. But we think that our Tables offer a sufficient basis for a satisfactory estimate.

<sup>1</sup> So H. Hall, "Customs," I. 72.



A troublesome feature of the reign is that of doling out grants by moieties, the grants being expressed in terms of moieties.

Under Edward III the yield of the legal assessments seemed to be well kept up, and with respect to the clerical grants, at times, they were not only maintained, but actually exceeded, and that to a wonderful extent. We cannot say as much of the grants of Richard's time; but on the whole, considering the King's unpopularity, they were very fairly maintained. Looking at our Table V the reader will see that the yield of the double lay Subsidy of the first year, £73,989 15s. 6d., shows the Fifteenth and Tenth at nearly £37,000, the assessment in 1332 having fixed it at £38,170. The £54,800 produced by the Subsidy and a half of the third year comes to nearly as much. These grants represented loyal effusions at the advent of a new reign not to be repeated. It will be seen that the returns were very unequal—if indeed they are complete; but it appears that the last Fifteenth and Tenth on our Table, that of 1397, granted by moieties, was still good for £34,178 10s. 4d.

To enumerate the grants. Looking at our Table V it will be seen that Richard received one double Fifteenth and Tenth; seven times he was given a Subsidy and a half; four times a whole Subsidy, and once a half Subsidy. He also had two Poll taxes, fifteen grants in all. For nine of these we have the official returns, for the other six we offer estimates. The total comes to £667,889 4s. 8½d. Spread over the twenty-one years of the reign it would represent an annual contribution of £31,804.

Taking up Table VI and the clerical grants we find that besides arrears from the late reign, Richard received from Canterbury one double Subsidy; one grant of 16d. on the mark (13s. 4d.); one clerical Poll Tax; eight half Subsidies; and three whole Subsidies, two of them by moieties. The total sums up as £225,495 12s. 11d.

Spread over the twenty-one years of the reign we get an annual contribution of £10,737. The reader will notice that the double Tenth of the first year yielded £63,067 17s. 3d., thus representing a single Tenth of the surprising amount of £31,533, instead of the normal £18,000 of the reduced *Taxatio* of Nicholas. But the Tenths of the 18th and 21st years come down to £16,357 10s. 5d., and £15,183 6s. 10d. respectively.

From the Northern Province nothing appears on our Table. But it would seem that in 1377, following the example of Canterbury, they granted a double Tenth. In 1379 we hear of a Tenth; in 1382 we have mention of a half Tenth, and finally in 1397 of a Tenth and a half. Without further data we cannot offer any estimate. Under the reduced taxation the York Tenth might yield £4,000. Presumably the money was expended locally in repairing the damages caused by the Scottish inroads, buying truces, ransoming prisoners, and the like.

Putting together our direct grants we get :

Lay Grants . . . . .	£ 31,804
Clerical Grants . . . . .	10,737
	<hr/> 42,541

III. Hereditary Revenues as already defined. For the yield of the miscellaneous branches of the revenue that come under this head we must turn to our analysis of the returns of two years, namely the 12th (Michaelmas 1388-1389) and the 21st (Michaelmas 1397-1398), Tables III and IV.

12th year :	£	s.	d.
Landed Revenues, County and Burgh Farms,			
Reliefs, Wardships, Forfeitures, Fines, &c. .	25,098	16	11
Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien" impounded			
by the Crown . . . . .	2,799	18	4½
Hanaper in Chancery . . . . .	1,728	5	7
Mint and Exchange . . . . .	86	13	6
Sundries . . . . .	39	11	8
	<hr/> 29,753	6	0½
21st year :	£	s.	d.
Landed Revenues as above . . . . .	31,952	3	6
Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien" . . . . .	2,458	3	8
Hanaper <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	4,625	17	3½
Mint and Exchange . . . . .	106	3	2
Sundries . . . . .	2,692	0	0
	<hr/> 41,834	7	7½

<sup>1</sup> These large receipts of the Hanaper were clearly connected with the compositions made by the King with certain Appellants, who were admitted to grace. See above.

Splitting the difference between these two years we get a contribution of £35,793 towards the total annual revenue.

#### IV. Loans and *Praestita* (advances to be repaid).

The amount to be credited to this unsatisfactory head is that required to make up the average revenue shown by the Pell Rolls, viz. £140,000 a year, after allowing for the legitimate heads, already given as thus :

Customs	.	.	.	.	.	£	47,734
Subsidies	.	.	.	.	.		42,541
Hereditary	.	.	.	.	.		35,793
							<hr/>
							126,068

Thus our Loans and *Praestita* may be taken to average in round numbers £20,000 a year. How much of this should be attributed to loans and how much to the *Praestita* we cannot say. On our Table III the borrowing amounts to £13,167 12s. 9d. ; and the money repaid into the Treasury to £10,923 19s. 5½d. On Table IV the borrowing comes to £7,714 12s. 10½d. ; but the advances repaid only count for £847 3s. 6½d. In the one case the loans represent a ninth and in the other case a fifteenth of the revenue. Presumably the loans would outweigh the *Praestita*. With respect to these, as they have already figured in the Rolls account, they cannot be held part of the revenue of the reign as a whole, though they swell the returns of the year. The proportion of the loans to the real revenue thus becomes greater. On any estimate as to the general borrowing of the reign we cannot venture.

On the Issue side of the accounts the two great heads of expenditure were those of the Royal Household and of Naval and Military expeditions, including fortifications. We have seen the sums drawn for John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain, and for Richard's first visit to Ireland. Notes taken from the Pell Issue Rolls for the 12th year (1388-1389) seem to show the King as content with £18,000 for his domestic expenditure, including £3,843 for Chamber or Privy Purse ;<sup>1</sup> while in the 21st year (1397-1398) the records seem to show an expenditure of £40,000

<sup>1</sup> Later, namely in the 13th year (1389-1390), £4,000 a year was assigned by writ to the Chamber, but considerably more was always drawn.

for the Household, besides "Pensions and Gifts" (the fees of the White Harts) for perhaps £15,000 or £16,000 more. The reign was by way of being a peaceful one, but the outlay on garrisons and fortifications was great. We have seen the expenditure on Calais per Walworth and Philpot early in the reign.<sup>1</sup> In the 12th year we seem to have the following items:

	£	s.	d.
Calais . . . . .	25,650	12	0
Berwick . . . . .	10,521	0	0
Carlisle . . . . .	5,874	0	0
Roxburgh . . . . .	300	0	0
Brest . . . . .	8,299	13	4
Cherbourg . . . . .	396	0	0
	<hr/>		
	51,041	5	4

In the 21st year Calais takes £30,253, while Ireland, from being a source of income, draws £2,823; but the total under this head only comes to about £40,000. Civil Service including diplomacy might require from £7,000 to £14,000 in a year. In the 21st year £10,000 were spent on works at Westminster Hall and the Tower; another year shows less than £1,000 spent on building. Towards the close of the reign Richard started a menagerie of lions and leopards, ten in number, at the Tower, for the benefit of the Londoners. They might cost £236 16s. a year.

No change was made in the currency during the reign. The pound of gold, coined into forty-five nobles worth 6s. 8d. each, is given as equal in value to fifteen pounds of silver.<sup>2</sup> In Henry II's time gold could be taken as only worth nine times its weight in silver.<sup>3</sup>

In 1379 Richard, at the instance of the men of Scarborough and other northern ports, established a squadron of two ships, two barges and two balingers to keep the sea north of the Thames; and for their support obtained leave to charge 6d. a ton on all vessels sailing along the coast, except ships carrying wool to Calais; boats employed in the herring fishery to pay 6d. per ton a week; vessels carrying coals from Newcastle to pay 6d. a ton per quarter.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll, 5 H. II. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, *Hist. Commerce*, I. 391.

<sup>4</sup> Foedera, VII. 220.

A Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas appears to have received about £118 a year ; the Chief Justice £153 6s. 8d. The Bishop of St. Davids when he took office as Treasurer on the 21st January 1398 was put down for the following appointments *per annum* : <sup>1</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Old ' fee ' 100 marks . . . . .	66	13	4
Novel increase . . . . .	300	0	0
Good service pension (for life) . . . . .	66	13	4
	<hr/>		
	433	6	8
	<hr/>		

Besides this he was entitled to receive £1 a day when in attendance on the King.

The Treasurer was second only to the Chancellor in official importance. The modest rate of his remuneration shows the grossness of such a grant as that of 2,000 marks a year (£1,333 6s. 8d.) to the youthful Marquis of Dorset. No salary is ever named for the Chancellor.<sup>2</sup> His hand must have been in every man's pocket.

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, Easter, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Under Henry III the Chancellor has 5s. a day, an allowance of bread and wine, one whole wax taper (*cereum*), and forty candle ends (*frusta candellarum*) ; Red. Book Excheq. III. 207 (H. Hall, Roll Series).



TABLE I. REVENUE OF RICHARD II  
From the Pell and (so-called) Auditors' Receipt Rolls.

A. D.	Regnal Year.	Term.	Term's total.			Year's total.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1377	1	Easter	15,367	19	11	(Half year only)		
—	—	Mich.	165,335	0	3	211,833	0	4
1378	—	Easter	46,498	0	1			
—	2	Mich.	66,151	10	1	136,514	15	6
1379	—	Easter	70,363	5	5			
—	3	Mich.	83,087	2	9	256,024	14	7
1380	—	Easter	172,937	11	10			
—	4	Mich.	(Wanting)			(Say) 155,000	0	0
1381	—	Easter	61,876	10	3			
—	5	Mich.	62,836	8	2	90,951	1	0
1382	—	Easter	28,114	12	10			
—	6	Mich.	87,085	9	11	128,899	2	8
1383	—	Easter	41,813	12	9			
—	7	Mich.	84,917	9	10	149,439	2	1
1384	—	Easter	64,521	12	3			
—	8	Mich.	87,451	8	8	182,384	3	8
1385	—	Easter	94,932	15	0			
—	9	Mich.	127,515	5	0	190,800	16	8
1386	—	Easter	63,285	11	8			
—	10	Mich.	71,454	6	11	111,775	13	8
1387	—	Easter	40,321	6	9			
—	11	Mich.	57,535	5	5	142,020	19	10
1388	—	Easter	84,485	14	5			
—	12	Mich.	67,869	19	2	121,188	2	0
1389	—	Easter	53,318	2	10			
—	13	Mich.	53,466	2	11	81,634	7	1
1390	—	Easter	28,168	4	2			
—	14	Mich.	71,330	9	5	98,442	0	0
1391	—	Easter	27,111	10	7			
—	15	Mich.	54,530	9	9	104,923	15	11
1392	—	Easter	50,393	6	2			
—	16	Mich.	58,801	15	8	121,710	8	4
1393	—	Easter	62,908	12	8			
—	17	Mich.	75,296	6	1	114,589	1	1
1394	—	Easter	39,292	15	0			
—	18	Mich.	120,920	13	2	147,105	0	4
1395	—	Easter	26,184	7	2			
—	19	Mich.	64,664	16	9	122,047	2	0
1396	—	Easter	57,382	5	3			
—	20	Mich.	71,968	11	3	146,762	17	6
1397	—	Easter	74,794	6	3			
—	21	Mich.	69,529	1	4	124,532	2	0
1398	—	Easter	55,003	0	8			
—	22	Mich.	75,749	9	7	144,222	9	8
1399	—	Easter	68,473	0	1			

TABLE II. CUSTOMS OF RICHARD II  
(FINANCIAL YEAR, MICHAELMAS TO MICHAELMAS)

	<i>Customs (Enrolled Customs' Accounts, Nos. 13 and 14).</i>			<i>Butlerage (Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 80, Nos. 23, 25).</i>			<i>Totals.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Year 1, June 1377- Mich. 1378	}	30,008	4 8						
Year 2, 1378-1379		42,806	8 0	191	10	0	42,997	18	0
Year 3, 1379-1380		54,241	1 7	128	9	0	54,369	10	7
Year 4, 1380-1381		49,923	13 3	104	9	0	50,028	2	3
Year 5, 1381-1382		52,280	4 2	139	4	0	52,419	8	2
Year 6, 1382-1383		36,863	2 0						
Year 7, 1383-1384		69,856	12 0						
Year 8, 1384-1385		43,242	12 0						
Year 9, 1385-1386		39,890	12 4						
Year 10, 1386-1387		58,844	8 5						
Year 11, 1387-1388		45,873	17 8						
Year 12, 1388-1389		40,434	19 3						
Year 13, 1389-1390		54,940	2 0						
Year 14, 1390-1391		39,948	17 11						
Year 15, 1391-1392		51,169	0 9						
Year 16, 1392-1393		61,202	3 6	349	10	8*	61,551	14	2
Year 17, 1393-1394		53,923	13 7	349	10	8*	54,273	4	3
Year 18, 1394-1395		52,804	19 9	349	10	8*	53,154	10	5
Year 19, 1395-1396		46,642	7 4						
Year 20, 1396-1397		35,676	9 10						
Year 21, 1397-1398		44,832	3 1						
Year 22, 1398-1399		33,696	5 2						
Total . . .		1,045,101	18 3	1,612	4	0			
Average . . .		47,504	12 7	230	0	0			
Average with Butlerage . . .		47,734	17 7						

\* Share of lump sum for three years.

TABLE III. ANALYSIS OF RECEIPT ROLLS, PELL'S MICHAELMAS AND EASTER, 12 RICH. II, OCTOBER 1388-1389

	£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues ; as per sheriff's accounts, including County, Borough, and Hundred farm rents; Reliefs, Wardships, Forfeitures, and Fines . . . . .	25,098	16	11½
2. Customs . . . . .	42,692	5	4½
3. Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien" impounded by the Crown . . . . .	2,799	18	4½
4. Clerical Tenths . . . . .	7,071	15	4½
5. Lay Fifteenths and Tenths (on account of half Subsidy) . . . . .	17,479	2	11½
6. Loans (all repaid ultimately except £8 13s. 4d.) . . . . .	13,167	12	9
7. Receipts of Hanaper (enrolment of deeds in Chancery, sale of writs, &c.) . . . . .	1,728	5	7
8. Mint and Exchange . . . . .	86	13	6
9. <i>Praestita</i> (advances repaid to Treasury) . . . . .	10,923	19	5½
10. Sundries . . . . .	39	11	8
	121,088	2	0

TABLE IV. ANALYSIS OF RECEIPT ROLLS, PELL'S MICHAELMAS AND EASTER, 21 RICH. II, OCTOBER 1397-1398

	£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues as before (Fines £5,782 16s.. 8d.*) . . . . .	31,952	3	6
2. Customs . . . . . (?)	67,788	6	11
3. Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien" . . . . .	2,458	3	8
4. Clerical Tenths (arrears) . . . . .	5,314	3	3
5. Lay Fifteenths and Tenths (arrears) . . . . .	35	3	5½
6. Loans :			
Repaid ultimately . . . . .	2,879	12	10½
Not repaid . . . . .	4,835	0	0
7. Hanaper . . . . .	7,714	12	10½
8. Mint and Exchange . . . . .	4,625	17	3½
9. <i>Praestita</i> (advances repaid to Treasury) . . . . .	106	3	2
10. Sundries . . . . .	847	3	6½
	2,692	0	0
	123,533	17	8

\* Of this total only £981 3s. appears to represent amercements lawfully exacted in due course; the balance represents fines extorted either *coram concilio* or *per recognitionem in scaccario*, such as 2,000 marks from the men of Essex "gratanter concessae".

TABLE V. LAY SUBSIDIES

From L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies".

A. D.	Regnal year.		£	s.	d.
1377	1	Double Fifteenth and Tenth . . . . .	73,989	15	6
1379	2	Poll Tax (Rot. Parly. III. 72) . . . . .	27,000	0	0
1380	3	Fifteenth and Tenth and a half . . . . .	54,800	6	0
1381	4	Lay Poll Tax (Powell) . . . . .	44,825	14	3
1382	5	Half Fifteenth and Tenth . . . . .	23,236	1	12
1383	6	Fifteenth and Tenth, say . . . . .	34,000	0	0
1384	7	Three Half Subsidies :			
		First Moiety . . . . .	16,872	0	10
		Second Moiety . . . . .	17,017	7	8
		Third Moiety, say . . . . .	16,900	0	0
1386	9	Subsidy and a half, say . . . . .	49,789	0	0
1387	10	Fifteenth and Tenth by Moieties :			
		(Pells) First Moiety . . . . .	14,000	0	0
		Second Moiety . . . . .	15,000	0	0
1388	11	Fifteenth and a half by Moieties :			
		First Moiety . . . . .	17,547	18	2
		Second Moiety . . . . .	18,253	16	2
		Third Moiety . . . . .	17,479	2	11½
1391-					
1392	15	Fifteenth and a half, say . . . . .	53,000	0	0
1392-					
1393	16	Same, say . . . . .	53,000	0	0
1395	18	Fifteenth and Tenth, say . . . . .	34,000	0	0
1397	20	Same by Moieties :			
		First Moiety . . . . .	16,644	12	0
		Second Moiety . . . . .	17,533	18	4
1398	21	Fifteenth and Tenth and a half, say . . . . .	53,000	0	0

TABLE VI. CLERICAL SUBSIDIES

From L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, "Subsidies".

A. D.	Regnal year.		£	s.	d.
1377	1	Canterbury Tenth (Arrears) . . . . .	11,484	19	9
"	"	Same, Double Tenth. . . . .	63,067	17	3
1380	3	Canterbury 16d. on 13s. 4d. . . . .	10,133	9	9
1381	4	Clerical Poll Tax, say . . . . .	33,000	0	0
1382-					
1383	6	Canterbury half Tenth . . . . .	12,468	4	10
1383-					
1384	7	Same, same . . . . .	5,952	18	5
1384-					
1385	8	Same, same . . . . .	8,564	1	0
1387	10	Same, same . . . . .	7,279	14	8
1388	11	Same, same . . . . .	9,326	8	7
1391-					
1392	15	Same, same . . . . .	4,377	1	5
1392-					
1393	16	Same, same, say . . . . .	4,300	0	0
1394	17	Same, Tenth, say . . . . .	16,000	0	0
1395	18	Same, by Moieties :			
		First Moiety . . . . .	6,969	9	8
		Second Moiety . . . . .	9,388	0	9
1397	20	Same, half Tenth, say . . . . .	8,000	0	0
1398	21	Same, Tenth by Moieties :			
		First Moiety . . . . .	7,569	4	2
		Second Moiety . . . . .	7,614	2	8





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